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PLUTON MISSILES NO LONGER CONTROLLED BY WEU

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 May 80 p 48

[Text] The French tactical nuclear "Pluton" missiles have just been withdrawn from inspection by the Agency for the Control of Armaments, part of the Council of the Western Europe Union according to a report of Mr Francis Tanghe, senator of the Christian-Social Party of Belgium.

The agency, created by the Brussels Treaty of 1948 (reorganized by the Paris agreements in 1954), located in Paris regularly reports to the Council of the Western Europe Union which comprises Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. In principle the agency is entrusted with the control of armament levels in stock as defined by the treaty and held by member countries and also to enforce West Germany's commitment not to manufacture certain types of armaments on its territory.

In the annual report of the Agency to the Council of the Western Europe Union mentioned by the Belgian senator it is stated that, if the Agency's activities do not cover the nuclear field, the non-nuclear components of atomic weapons (missiles and other special equipments) are subject to control with the exception of the armaments which a member country qualifies as "strategic". "This country, states the agency's report, having declared that the whole of its nuclear arsenal aims at one and only objective, namely deterrence, its missile vectors and its mobile launchers are exempt from control." The agency does not indicate which country is meant.

However, Mr Tanghe in his detailed report on the agency's activities declared: "The assembly of the WEU is thus informed for the first time that the French tactical nuclear "Pluton" missiles have just been withdrawn from the agency's control. Up to now these missiles (but not their nuclear warheads) were controlled by the agency as still are all Lance missiles and other analogous devices which equip Belgian, German, Italian, Dutch and British forces on the continent (nuclear warheads destined for these arms belonging to the Americans and stored in American custody are not subject to the controls agreed)."

8696

CSO: 3100

HAAGERUP COMMENTS ON EP'S FIRST SECURITY POLICY DEBATE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 1 May 80 p 11

[Article by Jorgen Haagerup, Member of European Parliament (Lib.)]

[Text] A group of Christian Democrat members of the European Parliament with the Frenchman Oliver d'Ormesson at the head brought about a debate on security policies during the meeting of the European Parliament in April. Security policies are seldom discussed in the European Parliament. It has occurred previously in connection with a couple of protest resolutions introduced by leftist-oriented groups against the NATO decision last December regarding middle-range missiles. It was rejected by a large majority and did not lead to any lengthy debate.

The debate in the European Parliament at the April meeting arose from a question involving the guarding and protecting of the sea lanes by which the organization's members are supplied with energy and strategic material. The debate did not receive much attention and was not in itself very noteworthy even if the content of the question might be regarded as unusual. Nevertheless, certain circles here at home, namely, the Communists and the Danish opponents of the European Association (EF) have used it to bring up again their argument that certain circles in the European Parliament are looking for a chance to create a European army, whatever that is. Since I have been called a supporter of such an European army, it is proper that I cast some light on the debate and my group's--the Liberal group--position in the matter.

During the debate some individual comments by Conservative and Christian Democrat members were quite militant. The background to this should be judged in connection with the situation in Iran and Afghanistan in particular. On the other hand, both the French Communists and Gaullists strongly opposed the Parliament's concerning itself at all with the question of protecting the sea lanes, and the Socialist group also warned that military-political matters were involved. One individual Socialist speaker commented ironically over the fact that so many militant voices had emanated from individual Christian Democrats.

I was asked by the Liberal group to be chairman in the debate, and in my comment I called attention to the unusual situation that the question involved a topic of a security nature, and the question was directed to the Commission whose balliwick did not concern security. Then I said,

"We do not believe any subjects are taboo in the Parliament. The question of Parliament's competence is irrelevant because the European Parliament has the obvious right to consider all problems which are regarded as significant for the community. It is one thing to recognize the great importance of this question for the community. It is, however, something else what Parliament can do to create greater understanding for the significance of this problem, not excluding policies which eventually might be suggested with a view of bringing about a more coordinated and more effective protection of these sea lanes.

"As is known, the situation is that defense policies are not within the competence of the Association, and the greater part of the sea lanes, the protection of which is of concern to us, lies not with the North Atlantic Treaty in which 8 of our members participate. On the other hand, it is naturally possible that the foreign ministers of the Nine who are meeting to consider political cooperation will consider all subjects. That is also involved in the inquiry, since I presume that one does not intend to change the existing demarcation of work which exists between the political cooperation in the EEC and the military cooperation in NATO.

"Unless one intends either to close one's eyes to the question raised, or to regard the matter of protecting the sea lanes as a purely American responsibility, or to adopt both views--which is not very logical--it is obviously something which should concern us. It is off-hand much more difficult to suggest any guidelines for what can be done practically when it is recognized that reservations of national, emotional and other character exist for an unbiased consideration of these problems. One can hardly say that this situation is cleared up satisfactorily with the inquiry which has been made, and it is not clear either that the recommended guidelines could be accepted without reservations by our member countries.

"It may help to cast more light on the question of the protection of our sea lanes and eventually on a more effective coordination of radar and surveillance equipment. That may well take place in a less biased atmosphere which will consider the quite divergent views on these questions. If such an unbiased analysis can increase understanding for how important these matters are for the entire community and for cooperation among all the western countries involved, it will not encounter opposition from the Liberals."

In addition to this contribution on behalf of my group, I would like to make the personal comment that I am unaware of any desire in the European parliament to establish a separate European defense cooperation in juxtaposition to the NATO set-up, unilaterally to create a European army, an

idea which is spread eagerly by the opponents of the ECC. On the contrary, the debate in the European parliament on both Afghanistan and Iran has shown that there is wide appreciation in a large majority for western cooperation, that is to say, that the cooperation between Western Europe and the United States be maintained and expanded. Hence, the European Parliament expressed to the European Communities foreign ministers its support for and solidarity with the United States in the matter of the hostages in Iran and for an eventual diplomatic break with Iran if the hostages are not freed.

Defense policy is not a matter for the European Community, and the European Parliament cannot and does not want to make it a responsibility of the European Community. On the other hand, it is natural that the first directly-elected European Parliament should openly discuss the problems which concern the Association and the 9 members, and no one can contradict that Western Europe's vulnerability in energy and the long supply line from the Near East are such problems.

6893

CSO: 3106

FRENCH POLICY, POSITION ON QUEBEC SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 May 80 p 8

[Article by Phillipe De Saint Robert: "France and Quebec"]

[Text] We know the admirable prologue of Atala: "France formerly had a vast empire in North America, which extended from Labrador to Florida and from the shores of the Atlantic to the most remote lakes of Upper Canada... "Memories are one thing, history is another; nostalgia is not a policy. That is to say, as has just been pointed out*, if the people of Quebec, conquered in war in 1760, abandoned by France in 1763 in the general lack of awareness, have not been able to attain international sovereignty until now, as distinguished from American peoples of English, Spanish or Portuguese stock, the destiny which they are attempting for the first time to legally decide for themselves, under conditions which are still very uncertain, could no longer have anything but emotional and moral ties with France from which they came.

It is too bad and regrettable that we must still say these things. Moreover, they are perhaps not obvious in Canada itself, since for expressing his opinion and his personal assessments to a Quebec minister who asked him for them, Michele Rocard was fiercely denounced by the advocates of a federalism who were not above, on their part, for example, appealing to the United States Congress, while Pierre Trudeau did not refrain from doing it in a manner which certainly does him no credit.

In fact, it is true that we are living in a time when anything that happens in the world has repercussions, according to standards difficult to determine and the feelings or interests of other peoples. Thus relations between Quebec and France could not be routine. It is natural that they harbor the bitterness of a love unrequited long ago. Thus the French are in turn and sometimes simultaneously accused of not being concerned about Quebec,

* Compare LE MONDE of 10 May 1980

or being too concerned. On the whole, it is quite easy for us to analyze these reactions which more than two centuries of mingled fidelity and neglect justify or explain.

I have mentioned Chateaubriand. Less known is the work which Vigny wrote in March 1839 on "The French in Canada," after having attended the discussion in the House of Lords about the celebrated report of Lord Durham submitted on 30 January and devoted to the "absolute need to suppress a French nation of 450,000 people." There are several pages there which say everything about the destiny of the people of what was New France, and also about what are still today the embarrassed reactions of the old France. How one colonizes a people with the connivance of its elite on the morning after a military defeat which, after all, was only a lost battle, is said well and clearly. Alfred de Vigny wrote: "From then on, the English minority consistently oppressed the French majority and went so far as to interfere with the education of children. This was one of the most painful blows, because it paved the way for degradation through ignorance. We see that the domination of the English race was not the result of its superiority in knowledge and performance, but of its maneuvers with the French Canadian upper class, which surrendered its hereditary rights to it.

"The new proprietors soon took over the best paying positions... The operation was simple; one could be sure that France would not be disturbed about it, that it would not even move its lazy hand to task for some world map, to find out in what corner of North America, this forlorn tribe was buried. Like a ship which leaves a whole family behind it on a desert island, France has abandoned an unhappy people in Canada, which was called for some time the Canadian nation and which speaks the language I am writing in*..."

This historic phenomenon is the key to the present situation, from a double point of view. It explains first the indifference in France of the party of the notables, heirs of those who surrendered their "hereditary rights" 200 years ago to the conquerors for a day and the outcries with which this party concealed in 1967 a certain "Long Live Free Quebec!" expressed at the Montreal City Hall by a free man, who, as for himself, has never found in history anything but reasons to try and not give up.

It also explains this timidity or rather this inhibition of the Quebecois before their present choice. Jacques Attali wrote this choice, in the final analysis, is "between an identity card and a credit card**." The fact is that the elite themselves of the Quebec people have followed quite naturally the footsteps of those who betrayed them previously and today

*Complete Works, volume II, p 861 Library of la Pleiade

**L'EXPANSION, 21 December 1978

they do not realize, as a cruel result of a long alienation, that their "power of negotiation" to arrange things in the Anglo-Saxon manner would be stronger with a courageously assumed risk, than with a final compromise dictated by fear.

Consequently, one sees how things stand in time and space. A great aspiration for freedom no longer runs up against an irresistible outside repressive force, but it is, as it were, restrained by a mysterious impediment, the result of two centuries of alienation, which is the final victory of an Anglo-Saxon ideology itself at the end of its influence in the whole world and even on the American continent. And a vague feeling of destiny suddenly paralyzes or restrains a will which nothing really thwarts anymore. As if a conventionally democratic vote could not, would not be the natural end of such a long resistance whose forgotten secrets were faith and demography.

As for France, we can say that once again it does not know what is involved. Aside from a few rare Gaullists who do not consider General de Gaulle remarkable but incomparable, aside from a section of the left which is on the lookout to find a useful cause, among others, France's policy is futile, in the likeness of its prime minister, who after having proclaimed the principle of "nonneutrality," is himself only fully involved in that of "noninterference," which is based rather on "doing nothing." For supporting a cause morally and aiding it peacefully has never been interference; and even less having an opinion and explaining it.

But as soon as we are suspected or accused, note well how we accept the terms of the accusation and how because of weakness of will, we agree to defend ourselves, justify ourselves, then to keep quiet. Nevertheless, although Pierre Trudeau and Claude Ryan may be offended, if a cat may look at a king, France has the right to be interested in the destiny of the French speaking nation in Canada.

It has the right to and it may even have the duty. I said that emotional and moral ties remain; I should have mentioned spiritual ties. For it is they which best express the type of interest which France actually has in the destiny of this French speaking nation of French origin, whose freedom is part of our repudiation of a world with a single dimension, whose continued identity is essential to our rejection of an American subculture from which the West is slowly dying. And it does not involve our nostalgia, but our thinking about the world today, our vision itself which only wants reserves to again be creative in its adaptations.

8490

CSO: 3100

FRENCH FIRM, TOTAL, SEEKS SHARE IN NORTH NORWAY OIL FIELD

Oslo Aftenposten in Norwegian 28 Apr 80 p 29

[Article by Sverre R. Hjeltnes]

[Text] The French oil company Total has concluded agreements with industrial companies and research institutes on industrial and technological cooperation valued at around 30 million kroner. The board of Total Marine Norsk A/S has budgeted total investments in Norwegian joint projects of up to 100 million kroner over the next 3 years. The projects involve primarily technological and financial support for industrial research in Norway, administrative director Francis Morane of Total Marine Norsk A/S says.

Total is making great efforts to get into the Norwegian continental shelf north of the 62d parallel. The company has been active in the North Sea for many years already, among other things as the company responsible for the transport and terminal facilities for Frigg gas. In addition, Total was one of the first companies to drill for oil on Spitsbergen.

From the beginning of 1980, Total has added to its administrative personnel and expanded its staff at the main office in Oslo, says Morane, who is an economist with over 20 years of service at Total.

"The reason we are so active in Norway is that we have applied for blocks of the 62d parallel and also that on several occasions Norwegian authorities have expressed a desire for Total to establish a program for technological research and development in Norway."

Although some of the projects have a direct connection with oil activity on the Norwegian shelf, the program is being run on its own budget that is not part of the regular investments in exploration and production of petroleum or in the research projects Total is helping finance through its participation in Frigg and Ekofisk, director Morane says.

"What concrete projects can you point to in this connection?"

"Agreements have recently been reached with the Norwegian company Oildco to find possible investment projects in developing countries. Here, Total

will contribute up to 3 million kroner per year, for the time being. In this case, it has been agreed that additional investments will be made when suitable projects appear."

"Moreover, Total will be involved in an additional 10 to 15 projects. The company is participating in a group led by the Norwegian Veritas company for developing methods of deep-sea production. The same is true of a group led by Tenvig Offshore for stabilizing ships for use as offshore platforms."

"In addition to this, I must mention that Total has developed a system for conducting electricity that is revolutionary in many ways and that may possibly lead to extensive production agreements and the establishment of many jobs in Norway."

"One of the projects that is attracting great interest is the development of a method for the safe unloading of damaged tankers. Everyone understands the importance of this to prevent pollution of the ocean in general and coastal areas in particular. Most of the studies in this area will be made in Norway."

"Also, I would like to mention that a Norwegian company is ready to begin studying a new method for laying pipes at great depths in the ocean. This is the so-called 'J-method' developed by Total."

The "J-method" will be valuable, for example, in laying pipelines across the Norwegian Channel. In addition, it is clear that if and when oil or gas is found north of the 62d parallel, a solution to the transport problem will be needed, based on the pipeline alternative.

Morane says it would take too long to mention all the projects being either prepared or projected, in this connection. But one concrete measure involves two scholarships to young professionals who want to continue their education in the petroleum sector. These two people can continue their education at the Institut Francais du Petrole or at other French educational institutions of the same high standards.

In addition, Morane points out that Norwegian engineers are already working at Total's research center in France. They are currently studying deep-sea technology.

9336
CSO: 3108

MARTENS SUCCEEDS IN FORMING NEW GOVERNMENT

Composition of New Cabinet

Brussels LE SOIR in French 20 May 80 p 2

[Articles by C.-L. Rinnemans: "The New Government on a War Footing"; and J. v. H.: "Walse of the Portfolios"]

[Text] "Following one of the shortest crises in our political history," Martens said, "a six-way government (the two linguistic groups from each of the three traditional parties: Christian socialists, socialists and liberals) has been established. The resignation of the preceding government, which has been accepted, took place on 9 April, 40 days ago. The difficulties had begun 5 days previously.

The structures of the new Cabinet lend themselves to different approaches. There are 27 ministers and 9 secretaries of state. The ministers include: 7 from the CVP [Christian Social Party]; 6 from the PS [Socialist Party]; 5 from the PSC [Christian Social Party]; 4 from the SP [presumably Socialist Party]; 3 from the PVV [Party of Liberty and Progress]; 2 from the PRL [Party of Reform and Liberty]; as secretaries of state: 2 from the CVP; 2 from the PVV; 2 from the PRL; 1 from the PS; 1 from the SP; and 1 from the PSC. There are 19 Dutch- and 17 French-speaking members.

There are 19 ministers and 1 secretary of state with exclusively national competencies. Other members of the government are distributed over four executive branches: Flemish, the French community, the region of Walloon and the Brussels region.

Alongside Martens are the ministers who form the "hard core" of the Cabinet (the prime minister's own expression). There are the two deputy prime ministers: Guy Spitaels, PS, and Herman Vanderpoorten, PVV; and four other ministers completing a sampling of the parties: Willy Claes, SP; Jose Desmarets, PSC; Robert Henrion, PRL; and Jos Chabert, CVP.

Another curious fact is that Gaston Geens, who remains minister but who steps down from Finance to the Budget, becomes the Flemish assistant for national education next to Willy Calewaert, SP. Education problems have

caused difficulties among the Flemish. This was not the case with the French-speakers and Guy Mathot, PS, has no deputy.

The sensation of the day is the title of minister given, along with a troubled portfolio, to a former member of Parliament, socialist Philippe Moureaux. He takes over Interior (and Institutional Reforms).

The Foreign Affairs portfolio has a new head, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, PSC, who could not wait to get it and from whom great things are expected. Charles Poswick, PRL, returns to National Defense, after a long absence. At a press conference, W. Martens emphasized that a ministry had been offered to liberal Minister of State Pierre Descamps, who refused for personal reasons.

The government includes four women: two ministers, Mrs Rika De Backer, CVP, and Mrs Cecile Goor, PSC; and two secretaries of state, Mrs Rika Steyaert, CVP, and Mrs Lucienne Herman-Michielsens, PVV. The first three have been in the Cabinet for some time; the latter has received her first appointment.

A certain number of prominent figures are now ministers, in some cases after long absences: H. Vanderpoorten, R. Henrio, C. Poswick, H. DeCroo, Andre Kempinaire, Gus De Winter (last three from the PVV). The happy newcomers are: C.-F. Nothomb, PSC, P. Moureaux, PS, E. Deworme, PS, Pierre Mainil, PSC, Albert Demuyter, PRL, Mrs Herman-Michielsens, PVV, Andre Bertouille, PRL, and F. Willockx, SP. The precise competencies of a number of secretaries of state must still be defined by a royal order.

With regard to the posts of presiding officer of the assemblies, everything seems to be going along very smoothly and there is a single change: in the Chamber, to replace Nothomb. The agreement gives the post to the PRL, which will present its candidate, Jean Defraigne, deputy from Liege. In the Senate, Edward Leemans, CVP, remains, as in the French Cultural Council, with Leon Hurez, PS, and the Kultuurraad, with Henri Boel, SP.

Martens Third Cabinet; Members With Exclusively National Competencies

Ministers: W. Martens (CVP), prime minister; G. Spitaels (PS), deputy prime minister and minister of communications; H. Vanderpoorten (PVV), deputy prime minister and minister of justice and institutional reforms; W. Claes (SP), minister of economic affairs, member of the Limited General Policy Cabinet; J. Desmarets (PSC), minister of planning and scientific policy, member of the Limited General Policy Cabinet; R. Henrion (PRL), minister of finance, member of the Limited General Policy Cabinet; J. Chabert (CVP), minister of public works, member of the Limited General Policy Cabinet; Ch.-F. Nothomb (PSC), minister of foreign affairs; Ch. Poswick (PRL), minister of national defense; A. Califice (PSC), minister of public health and the environment; A. Lavens (CVP), minister of agriculture and the middle classes; H. De Croo (PVV), minister of posts, telegraph, telephone and pensions; L. Dhoore (CVP), minister of social welfare; G. Geens (CVP),

minister of the budget and assistant for national education (Geens is also a member of the Flemish Executive); R. Urbain (PS), minister of foreign trade; M. Eyskens (CVP), minister of cooperation and development; R. De Wulf (PS), minister of employment and labor; E. Deworme (PS), minister of Civil Service; and Ph. Moureaux (PS), minister of interior and institutional reforms.

Secretaries of State: V. Willockx (SP), secretary of state for finance

Community and Regional Executives

Flemish Executive

President: Mrs H. De Backer-Van Ocken (CVP), minister of the Flemish community

Members: W. Calewaert (SP), minister of national education; A. Kempinaire (PVV), minister of the Flemish community; M. Galle (SP), minister of the Flemish community; P. Akkermans (CVP), secretary of state for the Flemish community; Mrs R. Steyaert (CVP), secretary of state for the Flemish community; Mrs L. Herman-Michielsens (PVV), secretary of state for the Flemish community; and G. Geens, minister of the budget and assistant for national education, is also a member of the Flemish Executive.

French Community Executive

President: M. Hansenne (PSC), minister of the French community

Members: G. Mathot (PS), minister of national education; and A. Demuyter (PRL), secretary of state for the French community

Walloon Region Executive

President: J.-M. Dehousse (PS), minister of the Walloon region

Members: P. Mainil (PSC), secretary of state for the Walloon region; and A. Bertouille (PRL), secretary of state for the Walloon region

Brussels Region Executive

President: Mrs C. Goor-Eyben (PSC), minister of the Brussels region

Members: A. De Winter (PVV), secretary of state for the Brussels region; G. Cudell (PS), secretary of state for the Brussels region

Also participating in the deliberations of this Executive: Mrs. R. Steyaert (CVP), secretary of state for the Flemish community; and A. Demuyter (PRL), secretary of state for the French community

Waise of the Portfolios

The third Martens Cabinet, the new edition of the "36 Candles" (as the Leburton government was called in 1973), has 19 Flemish and 17 French-speakers.

Parity is observed at the ministerial level (except for the prime minister), as stipulated by the constitution. It is no longer observed at the level of the secretaries of state, unlike in the previous government.

Deputy Prime Minister Guy Spitaels gives up the budget to take over a "major" ministry, Communications, where Jose Chabert had reigned since 1974 (from the CVP). His task will be to establish some kind of linguistic balance in some sectors, as in the Aviation Administration.

Jos Chabert takes Public Works away from Guy Mathot and will be able to speed up the major infrastructure projects in Zeebrugge.

Guy Mathot whisks National Education away from his socialist comrade from Charleroi, Jacques Hoyaux: A unitarian replaces a federalist.

Alfred Califice (PSC), who was in charge of Social Welfare, exchanges ministries with Luc Dhoore (CVP), who headed Public Health. For the latter, it is a poisoned promotion: He will have to settle the Social Security reform.

Jose Desmarets (PSC) leaves National Defense to take charge of Planning and Scientific Policy, a post made to order for this former adviser to electric companies at a time when nuclear power is on the agenda.

Herman De Croo, who sought a major ministry (Foreign Affairs or Finance), obtained only a minor post: Posts and Telecommunications and Pensions.

Eleven ministers from the second Martens Cabinet are no longer part of the government: Renaat Van Elslande, Henri Simonet, Jef Ramaekers, Jacques Hoyaux, Georges Gramme, Andre Baudson, Lydia De Pauw, Daniel Coens, Bernard Anselme, Philippe Maystadt and Andre De Groeve.

A few ministers remained at their posts: Lavens in Agriculture; Rika De Backer at the head of the Flemish community; Jean-Maurice Dehousse in the Walloon region; Robert Urbain in Foreign Trade; Cecile Goor at the head of the Brussels Executive; and Mark Eyskens in Cooperation.

Mark Eyskens had already packed his bags with the hope of changing floors at Quatre-Bras. He thought he would occupy Simonet's chair, but the Flemish pressure groups intervened and he remains where he is.

New Members Profiled

Brussels LE SOIR in French 20 May 80 p 2

[Biographical items by C.-L. B. and P. L.]

[Text] Charles Poswick: Return of the Paratrooper

Charles Poswick, from Namur, knows the army. This is the second time he has headed National Defense.

When he first took the post in 1966 in the Vanden Boeynants-Declercq government, it was a first: Finally a technician! The new minister, who volunteered for service during the war and served in the Piron Brigade in Holland, was a paratrooper. As a reserve officer, he continued his training. Even better, his hobby was freefalling. The only specialist Belgium had ever had before in the War Ministry was perhaps Albert Deveze, another liberal, who rode horseback.

Poswick holds a doctorate in law and the licence in political and diplomatic science and also in commerce and finance. He graduated from the University of Louvain and holds a diploma from the Investment Dealer's Association of Canada. His work as a civilian is with a large exchange firm.

He served in government, first of all in the Social Christian cabinets. He was a close associate of Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens from 1949 to 1952 and served as assistant chief of staff of the minister of justice from 1952 to 1954. He was a Communal Council member for one term in Sauvenière in 1958 and in Gembloux in 1964.

At the time Omer Vanaudenhove's PLP was formed, Poswick was the most representative Catholic to succumb to the charm of the courageous Diest native. He was duly rewarded when he was elected with the triumphal 48 liberal deputies in 1965. Less than a year later, his party put him at the head of National Defense, a ministry that many old veterans wanted badly, their eye on the blue line of liberalism.

The following 10 years were more monotonous. Then Jean Gol came along. As president, he took Charles Poswick as vice president.

Now he is back as minister of the armed forces. Does he remember that the last time, his first decision was not to include any generals on the list of quarterly promotions?

Their First Ministry

Andre Bertouille

Andre Bertouille, new secretary of state for the Walloon region, is one of the most devoted members of the Liberal Party. This time, it was said

before his appointment, he deserved a portfolio. To his training in administrative sciences, he adds a good knowledge of communal problems, which resulted in his naming to the staff of Louis Olivier, then minister of middle classes and institutional reforms. He was then named liberal representative on the Standing Committee on Linguistic Control. A protege of Pierre Desamps, he first served as co-opted senator before being elected deputy from the district of Tournai-Ath-Mouscron in April 1977. He was later to serve successively as vice president of the PLP and the PRL.

Albert Demuyter

As hard as Georges Mundeleer tries not to be minister, Albert Demuyter, secretary of state for the French community, tries equally hard to do everything to become one. The son of a deputy, member of the Resistance and a political prisoner during the war, he has long been interested in Africa, particularly as private secretary to the former minister of the colonies, Auguste Buissere. A liberal from Ixelles, he served as Communal Council member, deputy, senator, municipal magistrate and then burgomaster. In the government, he will be the Brussels representative from the PRL.

Elie Deworme

Elie Deworme, minister of the Civil Service, is somewhat the faithful Luxembourg from the PS -- compared with dissident Marcel Remacle -- who receives his promotion. Born on 3 April 1932 in Ellezelles in Hainaut, this teacher of psychopedagogy served as burgomaster of Ethe-Belmont from 1964 to 1971 and then permanent deputy from Luxembourg from 1971 to 1978. He has been the provincial senator from Namur since December 1979.

L. Herman-Michielsens

Lucienne Herman-Michielsens, secretary of state for the Flemish community, is above all a distinguished jurist. Although often most discreet, her opinions are heard in liberal Flemish circles. People also listen when she speaks in the Senate, generally on subjects having to do with justice, public health or the family, her three favorite fields. Born in Gand in 1926, a doctor of law and the holder of a licence in criminology and the profession of notary, she has served as director in the Ministry of Public Works, Communal Council member in Gand and assistant chief of staff of Vanderpoorten when he was minister of justice from 1973 to 1977.

Pierre Mainil

Pierre Mainil, secretary of state for the Walloon region: With him, the PSC is replacing a Christian democrat (Philippe Maystadt) with a CEPIC [Political Center of Christian Independents and Cadres] in the Walloon Executive. Pierre Mainil is the acknowledged Christian Social defender of the middle classes and independents in the region of Mons-Soignies. There he teaches history and social legislation, but above all, he is known as a

politician. He has served as staff attache, general administrator of the INASTI [expansion unknown], senator, founding member of CEPIC and chairman of the PSC district committee from Soignies.

Freddy Willockx

Freddy Willockx, 33, assistant secretary of state for finance, is also the youngest member of the new governmental team. The golden-haired boy of Willy Claes, a known worker, he is one of the rising stars of Flemish socialism. He began his political career in 1970 as member of the Communal Council and then as alderman in Saint-Nicolas. An alternate deputy, he entered Parliament in June 1979. Behind his intellectual's glasses is a militant trade unionist. He served as secretary of the FGFB [General Federation of Labor of Belgium] of Termonde-Saint-Nicolas.

Philippe Moureaux: Lookout Man for the PS

If the PS had one brain which, when placed on a plate of glass, were to think all by itself and day after day, produce the analyses needed to make things run well, that brain would be Philippe Moureaux.

This brain, which for a long time already has served Andre Cools, has played the role of the party's political computer for 3 years, enclosed in the glass walls of the administrative compound as chief of staff of the successive socialist prime ministers, Leon Hurez and Guy Spitaels. Moreover, he has provided such an apparatchik image of himself that people are now a little surprised to seem him emerge from the shadows and become minister.

He is a historian by trade. After completing his studies at the ULB [Free University of Brussels], he taught at the public secondary school of Woluwe-Saint-Pierre, but not for long. The university was for him a magnet. He returned as assistant and later as professor. He was never again to leave the ULB.

Forty-one years old, the son of the former senator and liberal minister of public instruction Charles Moureaux, Philippe Moureaux came to socialism through protest. When he returned to the ULB, he threw himself into trade union action. In May 1968, he became a member of the CGSP [expansion unknown]-ULB and found himself at the head of the student movement.

This caused him to become a member of the university's board of directors a little later. There, he met Henri Simonet, who convinced him that he should join the PSB.

His intelligence was rapidly put to work. In 1971, Andre Cools, deputy prime minister and minister of the budget, made him an aide. He was to remain as Cools' main adviser when the deputy from Flemalle took over the party's leadership. In 1977, with the return of the socialists to power, Philippe Moureaux became the veritable link between the government and the

party. As chief of staff of the socialist deputy prime minister, he would be the kingpin of the numerous summit meetings which brought socialist ministers and party leaders together whenever there was a political disturbance.

By making him a minister, Andre Coole put one of his loyal men in the government and in a very delicate post. The Ministry of Interior has now become somewhat the ministry of the Fourons. It is also the ministry through which future mergers of communes in Brussels would have to pass. Having the portfolio of institutional reforms as well, Philippe Moureaux now looks like the PS' lookout man watching the troubled waters of community problems.

His entry into the ministerial orbit is also perhaps a way to prepare for the succession of Henri Simonet, his godfather in socialism.

Philippe Moureaux should not be confused with his older brother, Serge Moureaux, FDF [Democratic Front of Brussels French Speakers] and also a specialist in institutional problems. This promises somewhat "fratricidal" debates when one defends and the other attacks governmental reform bills in the Senate.

Robert Henrion: The Man of the Thousand Days

Robert Henrion refuses to admit that he took the Finance portfolio in spite of himself, but whether friendly or spiteful, a great deal of urging was needed to make him accept it.

The task, rehabilitation and receipts, will be an ungrateful one. It will be remembered that in 1966-1968, in the PSC-PLP government, Henrion finally agreed to take on the Finance Ministry when he was granted "special powers."

He was born in Namur and taught at the ULB. He will soon be 65 years old. He has had a remarkable career in banking. He came on the political scene late, at the end of negotiations for portfolios in 1966, at the forest home of Vanden Boeynants, the future prime minister. At the time, the parties were very enthusiastic about not taking Finance and the appeal made to Henrion, from outside Parliament, seemed providential.

He has since become coopted senator from the PRL, after being named minister of state in 1977. The reference is frequent, in our political world, to what he says, what he thinks, what he proposes, when receipts and spending are in the balance.

An acute observer of the budgetary tenterhooks of the successive governments in the 1970's, he was always in the liberal corridors until finally, he became the indispensable financial brain of Jean Gol, his surest reference in the negotiations.

Henrion is now once again -- for 100 days, Mr Gol? -- in what is undoubtedly the most critical post in government, a place scarcely made to assure this amiable man of the public's sympathy!

One day, he showed us the results of an opinion poll of professional popularity. Doctors were in the lead with 75 percent, followed by judges, with 55 percent, lawyers, 23 percent, civil servants, 7 percent, ministers and union leaders, 6 percent, members of Parliament and newsmen, 4 percent, and finally, men in finance and businessmen, 2 percent.

A member of Parliament and in finance, Henrion will have to work hard to work his way up!

Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb: New-Style Diplomat

Tall, thin, ungainly, the new minister of foreign affairs, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, conceals an athlete and aesthete behind his air of faded mobility. There can be no doubt about it: His evasive gestures, his fencing art and his verbal evanescence will work wonders in diplomacy.

He is not a debutant, however. The president of the PSC for nearly 6 years and president of the Chamber for a year, he knows how to round angles, reconcile views, blend contradictions into compromises.

Did he inherit this talent from his father? Charles-Ferdinand is the 13th child of Luxembourg senator and writer Pierre Nothomb. The family knows politics. One also learns to fight when one is the last of 13 children.

His political career was to follow a straight line: law studies and a licence in economics from Louvain, a brief stay in the Congo following independence, then the Belgian political arena. In 1962, Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb was elected national president of the Christian Social youth. With that position, he already became a member of the party's board.

Next came long years of training on staffs, serving the Chevalier de Stexhe, first of all, and then Minister Wigny. This work in the shadows was to last for 3 years. Then came the light of the elections and Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb was elected deputy from the district of Arlon-Marche-Bastogne in 1968, 1971, 1974 and 1977.

It was in March 1972 that he became head of the PSC, an office he held until October 1976 and regained for 2 more years following a brief lapse from 1977 to 1979. He left his mark, rejuvenating the party leadership, placing emphasis on new values, doing a job no one had laid out before him.

Nothomb also gave the PSC a more resolutely French-speaking image, one more independent of the "big brother" CVP. He helped form the front of French-speaking parties with the PS and the FDF after the failure of the Egmont Pact. His firmness in this regard brought him the lasting resentment of Tindemans, the likely cause of his tardy arrival on Rue de la Loi.

As for the international scene, it is not totally unknown to the new minister of foreign affairs. He worked in the Congo. He is a European deputy, although he must now resign from that post, which goes to his alternate,

Pierre Deschamps, deputy from Ath. Finally, Nothomb has completed his training in the United States, particularly, it is said, in the school of Henry Kissinger.

A minister for the first time at the age of 44, will Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb be the man with a new style at Quatre-Bras?

Herman Vanderpoorten, Spearhead of the PVV

Herman Vanderpoorten, 58, lawyer, senator, perhaps appears to be the calm individual from the PVV. And yet, Flemish liberals know him as the touchy driver of the "Liberaal Vlaams Beweging" throughout the last 20 years of linguistic conflict.

An excellent orator and formidable speaker because of his cold, biting humor in parliamentary jousts, he first served as Provincial Council member in Anvers (1949 to 1959). He became a deputy in 1966 and senator in 1965.

This is his fourth ministerial portfolio since he headed Justice in the Leburton government in 1973 and the Tindemans I government in 1974.

He made his entry into the King's Council in 1966, as minister of interior of Prime Minister Vanden Boeynants. It was a time when liberal ministers had to get the orders to enforce the 1963 linguistic laws passed.

In 1968, he was named alternate representative on the Benelux interparliamentary advisory council. In February 1972, he was appointed vice president of the Cultural Council of the Flemish community.

In the first government "of the 36 candles," that of LeBurton, he was already minister of justice, a post he was to retain in the successive governments of Tindemans until 1977, and to which he now returns.

In June 1979, he won the Prix Artevelde, given every year to a "particularly deserving" Flemish liberal. It is true that in the recent community debates in the Senate, Francois Perin called him even more radical than the Volksunie.

11,464
CSO: 3100

RAIF DENKTAS STRIKES OUT AT PRIME MINISTER CAGATAY

Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 16 May 80 p 5

[Article by Resat Akar]

[Text] Nicosia--Raif Denktas, son of Turkish Cypriot Federated State Chairman Rauf Denktas and deputy of the National Unity Party, the party in power, has begun to criticize harshly Prime Minister Mustafa Cagatay, chairman of his own party.

Political Circles Surprised

The fact that Raif Denktas, who played an instrumental role in the resignations of Nejat Konuk, prime minister of the first government formed by the National Unity Party, and Osman Orek, the second prime minister, is engaging in criticism that could lead to the resignation of Cagatay has surprised those in the political milieu. Raif Denktas, Nicosia deputy of the National Unity Party, which holds 23 of the 40 seats in the Turkish Cypriot Federal Assembly, first censured the actions of the prime minister and the party chairman general in the assembly a while ago and then severely criticized Cagatay in the first issue of the newspaper ZAMAN, which resumed publication 4 days ago. The younger Denktas, while admitting in the article entitled, "Greetings," that he had rebelled against first prime minister Konuk and second prime minister Orek, asserted that third Prime Minister Cagatay has the advantage of important experience. He said, "If an always-late and either off-target and inadequate or absolutely powerless political authority that makes unproductive decisions causes 'fools' like us to lose our patience somewhat, the reason for this is our sensitivity to the community's present status and its future."

While both Raif Denktas' speech in the assembly and his lead article published clearly under his name in the very first issue of the newspaper increased political tension, the decision to reduce the term of military service from 30 months to 26 months was harshly criticized in an editorial in yesterday's issue of ZAMAN.

11673

CSO: 4907

MILITARY SERVICE BILL RATIFIED

Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 9 May 80 pp 1,6

[Text] The military law bill has been approved by a majority in the federal assembly. At a meeting held under the leadership of assembly Chairman Oguz Korhan, a proposal on the issue of the length of military service submitted by UBP [National Unity Party] Deputy Raif Denktaş was approved. The proposal seeks to create a committee to establish the period of military service.

Atakol's Speech

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Tourism Kenan Atakol, who spoke during discussion of Article 30, which deals with the length of military service, said that the government and the party assembly group believe that 30 months of military service is too long and are taking the necessary steps to reduce this period. Atakol reported that, as soon as the bill passes, the Council of Ministers will shorten the term of military service and that votes will be cast to approve Article 30 of the law bill in the manner in which it is written.

Opposition Spokesmen

Article 30 of the bill proposes that the Council of Ministers set the term of military service. DHP [Democratic People's Party] Secretary General İsmet Kotak, who also spoke on this topic, pointed out that Article 6 of the constitution requires that the term of military service be established by law and defended the need to set the term through law. Kotak noted that a proposal to set the period at 18 months was presented to the assembly chairman by his party. TKP [Communal Liberation Party] Deputy Ekrem Ural also supported the 18-month term from the aspect of social and economic conditions within the nation. CTP [Republican Turkish Party] Secretary General Naci Talat said that, at the least, the maximum period should be determined by the assembly.

Government's Opinion

UDP Deputy Denktas emphasized that the topic of military service cannot be isolated from other problems of the community and proposed that the term of service be reduced to 22 months. In a speech, Prime Minister Mustafa Cagatay said that, after the bill is approved, the Council of Ministers will, at the first opportunity, prepare a set of regulations to reduce the period, keeping in mind all views on the issue. Cagatay noted that the Council of Ministers is considering lowering the term from 30 months to 26 months, but added that this period could be reduced even further as realities emerge with the application of the military law.

Other Speakers

TKP Chairman General Alpay Durduran stressed that military service bears great importance from the standpoint of basic rights and freedom and said that the power to set the term must not be given the Council of Ministers. UDP Deputy Ozel Tahsin reported that the length of service will be shortened, paying attention to the defense and resources of the community as well as to the responsibilities of being the government. DHP Deputy Ismet Kotak, who claimed that there are, on Cyprus, people who incite division among KTFD [Turkish Cypriot Federated State] citizens, said that one group of citizens proposes an 18-month term while another seeks an 18-month period with the goal of eliminating the inequality that is created by serving in the military for 30 months. DHP Deputy Osman Orek stated that the government stopped at 26 months and that the reason for this is not stated in the law.

11673

CSO: 4907

MINISTERS' ERRORS CAUSED BY JORGENSEN MANAGEMENT FAILURE

Business Organ Calls Jorgensen Incompetent

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 22 May 80 Part II p 2

[Text] The prime minister is nice and he means well but he is incompetent according to the periodical MANAGEMENT in its portrait of the nation's top leader and his leadership qualities.

"He is nice and he means well but he is definitely not a success as a top-rank leader." That is how the periodical MANAGEMENT characterized Denmark's top man, Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen, in an unusually harsh and negative portrait.

The periodical, which calls itself "the special publication for leaders," and which recently named general director Povl Hjelt as the best leader of the 1970's gave the prime minister bottom marks in its latest issue.

Against the background of Hjelt's selection and as an analysis of the economic crisis MANAGEMENT has launched a series of articles to illustrate and analyze the leadership problems of our society. "Is the Danish crisis more a crisis of leadership than an economic crisis?" it asks.

"As prime minister Anker Jorgensen has been far from demonstrating the qualities needed to run the government or those required to solve the problems of our country," the article states. But at the same time the publication asks if other politicians could have done much better. For how much of the problem is the fault of the individual and how much is due to the size of the job?

But that did not lead the periodical to moderate its harsh criticism of the prime minister who has been in that post longest since the end of World War II.

But he is well aware that his time is almost over, the article says. "He just doesn't know how to make an exit.

"One forms a disturbing picture of Denmark's highest leader and his leadership qualities when one asks some of those who know him best. Here it is, in shocking simplicity: the prime minister is a nice man, a hard worker. He means well, he is industrious and ready to take up the fight. But he lacks breadth of vision. For that reason he cannot evaluate the advice he is given. Therefore he follows the advice of the yes-men. He cannot take criticism and prefers to choose those who can form a policy for him.

"He doesn't really know what's wrong and he doesn't understand the extent to which things have gone wrong. And in reality he doesn't know the alternative solutions available to him.

"Anker Jorgensen's biggest advantage as a leader is that he can talk to people in such a way that they understand him. This is a very big advantage and explains why he has remained in power for so many years. But eventually the basic equipment is showing through and the worst thing is his lack of a sense of proportion."

In support of this conclusion by MANAGEMENT there are statements from named and unnamed politicians and commentators.

Doesn't Understand Issues

One of the politicians who has taken part in many negotiations with Anker Jorgensen had this to say: "He doesn't really grasp what we're talking about. He operates entirely on superficial ideas, just as he does in dealing with the general public. He is never better than when he is talking directly to the people. But he certainly isn't clever at the negotiating table. On the contrary. As soon as you get just a little below the surface he reveals himself as a man who doesn't understand the issue."

One of the many other things detracting from the prime minister's rating was his inability to acquire the right advisers. Since Per Haekkerup's death things have gone downhill and things have gone very wrong since Knud Heinesen left the government.

MANAGEMENT believes that good or bad management is often revealed most uncompromisingly in personnel policy. And there has hardly been another prime minister who has aroused so much astonishment by his choice of ministers or had so much trouble with them afterward.

Social Democratic member of Folketing Inge Fischer Moller had this to say: "The appointment of ministers has led to dissatisfaction. I'll admit that. But you don't talk about things like that. If you do, there are always some people who will think you're jealous."

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 May 80 p 10

[Editorial]

[Text] Is the government poor as a team or is it the prime minister who is unable to lead the team? The crisis in our society is a deep one and everyone can understand that the power structure is having a hard time handling the job. A minority government leads a frustrating existence. But even so the government seems poorer than it has to be. The government jumps from one crisis compromise to the next and the content and consequences are deplorable. But it is just as bad that individual ministers lead the government time after time into major or minor crises that lend sustenance to the impression that something is really wrong.

It must be admitted that some ministers appear capable of administering and implementing a policy. Social Affairs Minister Ritt Bjerregaard is the strongest example of this. But a great many things have shown that the government is burdened with a lack of both determination and ability, giving it the reputation of being not only poor but inexcusably poor. It began with the tax minister, who had problems later on too. It continued with the energy minister who seemed unable to recover his drive after coming in conflict with those around him. It was demonstrated by the clumsiness of the cultural affairs minister in dealing with the Olympics issue and just recently it turned up again in the dispute between the environmental affairs minister and the minister for public works. There are plenty of examples, many more than a government can live with if it wants to be accepted as even a moderately competent one.

All governments have some ministers who are poorer than others. What distinguishes this government from its predecessors is the general uncertainty characterizing the efforts of the government as a whole. In past governments such uncertainty was overcome by the prime minister alone or with the help of a single strong personality in the government. It must be said of Anker Jorgensen that he has not been able to lead his government as a team and he has no minister in the government of sufficient stature to be able to help him. So far at least no minister has stood out as a central force within the government. The job depends on the prime minister alone and despite his great experience he seems unable to lead his ministers as a functioning unit. On the contrary as a result of his impulsive interventions Anker Jorgensen has himself often been responsible for intensifying the impression of thoughtlessness and confusion.

It is difficult for Folketing to deal with this. And it is a shame for our society.

Energy Minister Defends Actions

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 May 80 p 10

[Interview with Energy Minister Poul Nielson by Birgit Rasmussen]

[Text] Energy Minister Poul Nielson does not believe he will break his neck politically on the oil deal affair. He takes that as a "trip on the Ferris wheel." He has noticed a pattern and according to that pattern a minister has such a trip at regular intervals. "We are not persecuted innocents," but he does not like "the way the public mood is whipped up when a wounded animal is scented out in the field." Incidentally, he is going to Iraq tomorrow in order to talk about oil.

It is becoming clear that Energy Minister Poul Nielson cannot see that he has done anything wrong--he just acts according to "the way things look in the world," an expression he often uses. He has been realistic, something he does not feel his critics have been, and he has "kept a super-ordinate goal in view: creating stability, a reasonable price development and a reasonably firm supply of oil based on a cooperation truly desired by both sides." At a recent IEA [International Energy Association] meeting of energy ministers in Paris one colleague after another came up to him and said that Denmark had been really lucky. "But here in Denmark we have to go through a discussion that is masochistic, to put it mildly, when one looks at how wisely we actually acted in preserving our own interests."

Poul Nielson more than suggests in this conversation that the future will prove him right--"when the dust has settled." In reply to a question as to whether he is considering taking up self-defense in his free time--inspired by the bombardment from angry committees, press attacks and demands that he be fired--he said, "Whatever for? It's something like the flu, you just have to get over it." But it's not that the discussions in the energy policy committee and all the rest don't make an impression on him and give him something to think about, he said. He doesn't think he will break his neck politically as a result of this affair. "And if that happens, then I must have been mistaken," he said with a smile.

Deal Was So 'Clean'

But if one twists his arm he will undoubtedly continue to repeat that the deal with Saudi Arabia was a "good" one. "And that isn't stubbornness, it is consistency," he remarked. Tomorrow, with all the fuss in the back of his mind, he leaves for Iraq to talk about oil. He will be careful. "But one cannot allow oneself to be paralyzed. And I will definitely not

go along with any attempt to link oil purchases with our political stand on this and that. In that case there won't be any oil! That is why I was so glad when I came home from Saudi Arabia--because the deal was so clean and we hadn't talked about that kind of thing at all." He still feels the famous passage on discredit was intended in an entirely commercial framework and had nothing to do with politics.

[Question] Wouldn't it be a good idea to call up Petromin or Yamani and tell them that everyone here is all worked up and that we would like to know in more concrete detail what it is we mustn't do or say if we don't want to risk having our oil cut off?

[Answer] I don't think that would be appropriate. The discussion has moved on a wrong tangent, for what is involved is increased cooperation and good relations between the two lands. I very much regret that it now has the appearance of being a matter of two lands working at cross purposes to each other.

[Question] You have suggested that whether or not the conditions had been included in the contract we simply had to have the oil. So that we are dependent whatever the circumstances.

[Answer] That is the situation in which the western world finds itself and if one wants to be realistic one has to be aware of it. Some people have said that through clauses like the one referred to the oil lands are trying to sneak political dependence into the deals underhandedly. I don't think that's the way it works. But it is a fact that a real change in the balance of power is taking place because oil has become an increasingly scarce resource and the OPEC countries, especially those in the Middle East are naturally demanding a different position in this world, culturally, economically and politically. What we should do is establish stable and sensible cooperation with these countries.

Ferris Wheel Ride

It is not entirely wrong to say that we have no choice. that is something of "what the world looks like today." But we also have very good cooperation with Saudi Arabia in a number of areas. Exports, for example and we are building their new Foreign Ministry. Things are going extremely well in all areas and both sides want that. I am working hard on establishing a closer dialogue with these countries and I think this kind of thing can contribute to the avoidance of a frightful apocalypse.

I am not optimistic with regard to the international situation. We cannot ignore the fact that there are powder kegs in many places, including the Middle East, and in that context too I feel it is necessary to try to build up cooperative efforts based on trust. Not just on their terms, for our part of the world must also survive economically. And that is in

their interest too. And so we do something about that while at the same time serving our own sensible commercial interests by coming home with a deal that is as good as we can get. And then to have to go through such a lot of trouble. But one just has to take it, like a ride on the Ferris wheel.

[Question] You have talked about strong interests that would like to destroy everything. It sounds like an entire Mafia persecuting you.

[Answer] There are those who basically oppose the state entering into the oil branch for political and other reasons and they have naturally made full use of all the ammunition they could get their hands on. And of course the oil branch is traditionally powerful and well-organized internationally. I think it is a little shocking and somewhat of a paradox that the poorer the oil crisis makes us the more money the oil companies earn. One must also keep that background in mind.

[Question] These strong interests have intensified the discussion, you have said. But hasn't the prime minister also done this? Wasn't there something about chewing you out for your actions?

Secretive?

[Answer] That's not the way it seemed to me. I have no other comments. But it is not "nice" to experience such harsh criticism of a minister. I feel a pattern is being formed. Not too many months can go by without one of the ministers taking a turn. By this I don't mean that we are all persecuted innocents. It's the way it is done, the excessive press interest that is whipped up when reporters think they have sniffed out a wounded animal on open ground.

[Question] Do you feel it is getting increasingly difficult to find people willing to work in high political posts?

[Answer] I know many people, including businessmen, who say they are very interested in politics but would never make themselves into personal targets by accepting a political position. The mood and the tone were different in Danish politics 10 or 15 years ago. Everything has become less friendly and less Danish--in the sense of the comfortable relations and the gleam in the eye we like to boast about. It has become a virtue, a quality prized by the fighting animals in the political arena, to be unfriendly, to be able to play on the media. Witch hunts have become common political methods and that is a step backward for political culture. I have seen others go through a rough trip when the waves were high so it is not surprising that I am the target of the personal attacks now. One goes after the man or after the ball--depending on what can provide the most benefit in a given situation.

[Question] This isn't the first time you've been under fire, you know. Why this unlucky tendency to get caught in the machinery?

[Answer] That's somewhat exaggerated. And it may be that I go directly to the heart of the problems which may look like a challenge and lead me into more trouble than others. But I think the problems call for this. That is why I am where I am.

[Question] You have often caused your own problems by being secretive and evasive. As if you're trying to hide your cards. But you must have soon discovered that the "secrets" slip out to the press anyway and then you're standing there....

[Answer] I certainly don't like to keep things secret and throughout my political growth I have been an excellent team player. But there are things that even a Folketing committee doesn't need to know, for example when a minister is negotiating with a concession owner--as in the DUC [Danish Underground Consortium] case for which I was also criticized. And I can't show enthusiasm when information leaks out to the press that destroys the composition of a move. But these are not my own moves, they are merely moves I have been assigned to make.

The Way I Am

[Question] You have been called arbitrary and pompous. Is that true?

[Answer] Many people have been unable to recognize me in reports written about me. In the election district in which I have run ever since 1969 I have received a constantly increasing personal vote, an extremely good result not only in comparison with my party comrades there but with all the districts in the region and that is based on myself as I really am.

[Question] And what are you really like?

[Answer] I think I'm an ordinary person.

[Question] In that case you wouldn't be sitting here.

[Answer] Perhaps that is the most remarkable thing.... I am not fashionable.... I feel that I'm an ordinary, sensitive person, but I have the ability to conceal this. I don't use flattery as a method. And the too-jovial, backslapping technique is also foreign to me. Normally it is hard for me to talk about myself--or to be pawed over and focused on. I do my job and there at least I know that I am making a contribution. But I don't have a ready-made spectral analysis of my own insides that I can present.

[Question] Perhaps it would be a good idea to make one....

[Answer] There just isn't anything mysterious about me.

[Question] How are you relaxing these days?

[Answer] By working and cutting the lawn and building a caport.

Employers' Congress Joins Attack

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 May 80 p 15

[Text] "Naturally the international crisis has made Denmark's economic situation worse but it is a deception when the prime minister tries to tell the public that this is the only reason for the problems confronting the Danish economy."

So said the chairman of the Danish Employers Association, Jens Thorsen, in his chairman's address to the general meeting of the association in Copenhagen on Tuesday.

"Just in the period when I have been chairman several intervention attempts have been made a year without straightening things out and the main reason for this is that the Social Democratic government has never wanted to admit that most of our problems are created here at home."

Jens Thorsen called the recent compromise between the Social Democrats and the small nonsocialist parties inadequate to straighten out the economic situation.

"The mini-compromise will not last beyond 1981 and we will undoubtedly find that new interventions are necessary as early as this fall."

The chairman of the employers association added that the repeated inadequate crisis solutions are creating a feeling of apathy among the public concerning what is happening in Christiansborg and how serious our economic problems are.

In his report Jens Thorsen analyzed how things went wrong in the 1970's.

"Total public spending rose drastically, leading to rapidly increasing tax pressures and the oil crisis led to even higher costs and initial problems in selling our goods.

"Instead of an effective assault on our sales problems we had a sharp inflation, expressed in large wage hikes due to cost-of-living regulations and wage demands. The result was an enormous rise in costs while the real

wage gains of workers were less than a tenth of the firms' cost increases due to the rising tax burden."

Demands and Proposals

Jens Thorsen made a number of demands on future policy and proposed five labor market and social policy measures.

"Growth in the public sector must be halted. The public sector can no longer appropriate an increasing share of our resources.

"Public employees must have their own wage structure and the automatic tie between wages in competitive businesses and wages in the public sector must be broken. People must be paid solely on the basis of performance and responsibility.

"The public assistance program should be cleaned up to eliminate abuses. The present assistance system does not give people who have been out of work for a long time any incentive to seek retraining and new jobs at contract-level wages. At the same time job referral system should be made more efficient.

"We should strengthen basic business training and get young people more interested in entering this field.

"The early retirement supplement should be replaced with a uniform pension system at a lower level than the present early retirement payment. The present system burdens the social and business economy to an unacceptable extent and creates mental problems for those who cannot work because they are getting early retirement benefits and frustration for those unable to get these benefits," Jens Thorsen said.

Contribution By Employers Association

The chairman added that in the coming decade the Danish Employers Association will make a contribution toward further relieving the public budget.

He proposed more flexible regulations on working hours which could ease pressures on daycare institutions stemming from the fact that both parents work at overlapping times.

"At the same time we can make job sites more attractive and thus increase our opportunities to retain and attract the labor force needed," said Jens Thorsen.

The employers association is especially interested in attracting more women because women make up the largest labor reserve.

"If the balance of payments deficit is to be eliminated conditions must be created in the 1980's to promote profitable production that will provide between 75,000 and 100,000 new jobs."

Thorsen noted that Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen has left it to the labor market factions to negotiate their own new contracts for 1980.

Shifting Responsibility

"In other words he is shifting the responsibility for the most important element in the cost policy onto us in the labor market. But in that case we must make it quite clear that the government must not spread out a new safety net under LO this fall and give guarantees for a minimum solution and legislative intervention in the event of a labor conflict.

"Of course we don't want a conflict but the condition for carrying out so-called free negotiations must be that they can occur under the threat of a regular conflict," Thorsen emphasized.

He said that negotiation rules and a timetable for the upcoming contract negotiations had not yet been discussed with LO and the chairman of the employers association asked whether contract periods should be extended in exchange for providing annual opportunities for a discussion of wages between the two factions.

Call for Order in Own Ranks

Thorsen took the opportunity to call his own ranks to order. He advised members to turn to their organization if they ran into wage demands conflicting with the general contract.

"Far too many employers give in or voluntarily make wage concessions without getting a greater effort in return for the pay increases granted. In the long run it is destructive if our members themselves don't make sure that the connection between wages and productivity is maintained."

He also recommended giving workers in the firm more management influence, among other things to make sure that they understand that productivity is not the same thing as a hectic work tempo.

"Workers involved in their own job function in the firm will naturally also be interested in the economy and earnings capacity of the firm. This interest has already been strengthened in several firms through the introduction of a surplus distribution system." Jens Thorsen thought this was a good idea but he strongly rejected the LO proposal for OD [Economic Democracy] with a central fund.

Danish Employers Association chairman Jens Thorsen's demand for a break in the automatic link between wages in competitive businesses and wages in the public sector means an end to step regulation.

Jens Thorsen revealed this at a press conference after the general meeting of the employers association yesterday when he expanded in more detail on the ideas presented in his chairman's report.

He stressed that it is something new for employers not to blame public employees for setting wage demand levels--but the public wage system is very rigid and old-fashioned, he added.

Some public employees are justified in demanding wage increases, added the administrative director of the employers association, P. Schade-Poulsen. Public employees should have their own wage structure, separate from that in the private labor market.

Jens Thorsen also said it was unlikely that the employers group would call for a minus solution in the upcoming contract negotiations.

"When we made that demand in the 1979 contract negotiations it was against the background of anticipated tax reductions that would compensate for wage declines.

"But there is no prospect of tax reductions in the present economic situation."

The employers meet today in three-party negotiations with LO and the government, a meeting to be held in the office of Labor Minister Svend Auken, to discuss changes in the unemployment subsidy system. But the employers group does not regard today's meeting as a real negotiation.

"We regard it as an invitation from the labor minister to engage in clarifying analysis with an eye toward avoiding abuse of the unemployment benefit payments," said Jens Thorsen.

He rejected in advance the government's idea that employers should pay workers benefits for the first 8 hours off the job.

"We would prefer the introduction of a waiting period so that benefits are not paid until a worker has been out of work for several days. It will then be a contract negotiation item to decide how employers would pay their share," Thorsen said.

He also said he thought the tenth class in the basic educational program should be abolished so that the ninth class provided direct admission to an institution of higher academic training or a vocational education program.

Jens Thorsen in Charge

For the coming year the Danish Employers Association will be led by Jens Thorsen. At an executive committee meeting on appointments following the general meeting of the association director Thorsen of Monberg & Thorsen was re-elected chairman of the roughly 22,000 member firms in the association.

As deputy chairman director Jens Christian Thorsen was elected for the first time. He is director of Bang and Olufsen's Fabriker in Struer. He succeeds former Burmeister & Wain director Poul Madsen who resigned because he is no longer chairman of the Iron Industries' Employers Association.

The new chairman of the Iron Industries group, elected a month ago, is the only new member on the executive committee of the Danish Employers Association.

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CSO: 3106

POLL SHOWS ONLY 34 PERCENT FAVOR IRAN SANCTIONS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 May 80 p 5

[Article by Asger Schultz, director of the Gallup Institute]

[Text] America's European allies have not immediately followed suit with regard to Iran, as the United States wanted.

The European attitude has been positive but reserved, with the decision on a final standpoint being delayed to a later date.

In Denmark at least this attitude seems to correspond to the feelings of ordinary voters as shown in a study made by the Gallup Institute.

The institute asked a representative selection of voters this question:

"Do you think Denmark should or should not implement economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran--as the United States has done?"

The voters' response is shown below:

	Should	Should Not	Unsure	Total
All respondents	34%	32%	34%	100%
To right of Social Democrats	44	29	27	100
Social Democrats	32	34	34	100
To left of Social Democrats	25	51	24	100

As shown here every third person (34 percent) replied evasively, "not sure" while "only" 34 percent support sanctions. But almost as many (32 percent) oppose sanctions, in other words the response of the public is neither yes nor no. Or both yes and no.

But with one in three unwilling to decide on the issue the total answer is no, since only a third of all those asked supported sanctions.

There are clear partisan distinctions between voters to the right and left of the Social Democrats. Leftist voters oppose sanctions while voters to the right of the Social Democratic Party overwhelmingly favor sanctions.

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CSO: 3106

CHRISTIAN PARTY CONGRESS BACKS OLYMPICS BOYCOTT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 May 80 p 7

[Text] The eighties must not become a decade of rearmament and war but one of negotiation and peace. That is the view of the Christian People's Party and it expresses this thought in a resolution urging the government and the Folketing to contribute intensively to promoting detente between East and West.

"The Christian People's Party wants Denmark to work with all its strength for continued mutual disarmament in the world. Our express wish is that a steadily increasing share of the world's armaments' expenditures be transferred to the task of development."

In another statement, like the first drawn up by the executive committee of the Christian People's Party and adopted without a vote by the party congress in Kolding, the party opposes Danish participation in the Moscow Olympics. It states that the Christian People's Party cannot face the future with responsibility if it has not warned the athletes in good time against allowing themselves to be used as pawns of Soviet propaganda for a system which scorns the rights of individuals and the independence of nations.

The Christian People's Party also in a resolution disassociates itself from any official recognition of a terrorist organization like the PLO. Greater understanding for the difficulties of Danish agriculture is also strongly endorsed.

The congress which ended yesterday re-elected as chairman Pastor Flemming Kofod-Svendsen from Birkerød.

6893

CSO: 3106

RADICAL LIBERALS' CHAIRMAN PETERSEN LISTS PARTY GOALS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 May 80 Part II p 1

[Article by Solveig Rodsgaard]

[Text] The party that has been close to death many times is celebrating its 75th anniversary in the belief that the period of decline is now at an end.

The Radical Liberals take a stand on an issue by delivering a loud and resounding "Maybe." That's an old Christiansborg joke. Many think it still applies to the party that celebrates its 75th anniversary today.

The Radical Liberal leader, group chairman Niels Helveg Petersen, does not take the joke too seriously.

"That's part of what we were accused of after the 1977 election. We have taken stock of that, successfully in my opinion. If we now go through the big political issues we have shown a clearer profile and we will continue to do so. But we feel an obligation to get Folketing to function in such a way that one can cooperate with other parties."

Niels Helveg Petersen is convinced that the Radical period of decline is now over.

"There are several indications of this. We have gone through a sizable generation shift. And even though Danish politics are highly variable and nothing can be taken for granted we have reached the turning point and today we feel better equipped to take part than we did a few years ago."

In Folketing

The Radicals themselves feel that 75 years is a long time for a party that in the view of many people has been close to death any number of times.

But they also feel the Radical Liberal Party is needed and that there will be many more years after the 75th. The internal conflict that raged through the party, especially after 1973, has been left behind. According to the Radicals themselves.

But the Radical Liberals--who broke away from the Liberals in 1905, in part as a protest against military appropriations--have had an unsteady time of it. Political opponents feel that the party was closer to the original social and liberal ideas until some time in the 1950's. In 1964 the last coalition government with the Social Democrats broke down. From 1967 to the beginning of the 1970's the Radical Liberals had their "nonsocialist" period with the VKR [Liberal-Conservative-Radical Liberal] government, among other things. But then what? After that time the resounding "maybe's" have been no less audible in the view of politicians from other parties.

And we don't find wholehearted enthusiasm concerning the compromise negotiations with the Radical Liberals in Folketing recently either and we certainly heard some harsh words when the Radicals defected from the interest deduction compromise they had agreed to a few months ago. It would be hard to put the words spoken by top Social Democratic politicians and others concerning the behavior of the Radicals in print.

Anniversary Book

The problems of the Radical Liberals are also discussed in the book, "The Radical Liberal Party in Good Times and Bad, 1955-1980," released today by Tidens Tankers Press. Professor Tage Kaarsted reviews the parliamentary development in the last 25 years, with special reference to the role of the Radicals in forming governments. Professor Niels Thomsen analyzes voter shifts and voter behavior. And school teacher Henning Nielsen, instructor Harald Westergaard Andersen, instructor Ole Samuelsen and former Radical Minister of Education Helge Larsen give a chronological account of the party during the last 25 years.

Twenty-seven Seats

The time for the Radicals to take stock started after the catastrophic election in 1973 which also made inroads on the other old parties. But this was just as much a question of taking stock of Radical Liberal policy after 3 1/2 years of participation in the VKR government and Hilmar Baunsgaard's continued leadership of the party.

Party leaders had to agree with the words of old Bertel Dahlgaard the night of the 1968 election when the votes piled up for the Radicals and gave the party 27 representatives in Folketing.

"I didn't realize there were so many Radicals," someone remarked while they eagerly followed the results on the television screen. "There aren't," Bertel Dahlgaard said.

The 1973 election gave the Radicals 20 seats. In 1975 the party got 13 and in 1978 only 6. "At this rate we'll be minus a seat next time," said Niels Helveg Petersen. But the tide turned. The election in October 1979 gave the Radicals 10 seats and that is probably about what the normal placement of the party should be. From the election in 1945 to the one in 1968 the Radicals had from 10 to 14 seats in parliament.

Hilmar Baunsgaard

Hilmar Baunsgaard who had the honor of the 27 seats in the 1968 and 1971 elections did not fare well in his group and in the party after 1973. There was dissatisfaction with the party line, there was trouble with the Radical opponents of the Common Market and more trouble with the "radical Radicals," a number of parliamentary candidates in North Sjaelland and Copenhagen counties.

"The Radical Liberals could be compared with a ship that had run aground but got off again under its own steam. With mast broken, some of the ballast thrown overboard and a divisive 20-man crew, some of them only partly trained, it continued its hazardous voyage through a troubled sea, on the bridge a skipper undecided about the correctness of the course he should set--and with a growing desire to abandon ship," as Tage Kaarsted wrote in the anniversary book.

The skipper left the deck in 1976. On Midsommer Eve Hilmar Baunsgaard announced that he would not seek re-election in the Middelfart district.

In the Middle

Niels Helveg Petersen returned home from his post as cabinet chief in Folketing soon afterward and took over the Middelfart district. But even with Niels Helveg Petersen in Folketing and his father as party chairman things did not go well in the beginning. The party's record low was set in the 1977 election with the six seats.

Professor Tage Kaarsted explains the position of the Radical Liberal Party in the anniversary book. It is hard to be a middle party.

"People are constantly tugging and pulling at you all the time. It is very hard to choose sides since no matter what you do it can easily annoy a sizable number of Radical voters. How much easier it was, in spite of everything else, for the Zahle-Munch-Rode generation, also because of the fact that the social distinctions were greater and were felt more than

they are today. The Radical Liberal Party could correctly identify itself as primarily the representative of people of humble means, leaning in the direction of the Social Democratic Party with which this party shared common foreign policy and defense views up until World War II."

Of the present situation Tage Kaarsted writes: "After 1973 doubts arose concerning the party's credibility. It was hard to compete on a parliamentary level with the many new parties. As of 1979 the party seemed to have stabilized around the old hard core with a policy reminiscent primarily of the 1930's. But the sovereign--and not always without cost--influence over government formations has not been recovered--yet."

Today

But what are the most important Radical tasks in Danish politics today? Niels Helveg Petersen mentioned three items to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE:

"First, it is very important for us, since we helped build up the welfare state, to be part of making the necessary adjustments to the changed economic conditions. Second, we must provide greater opportunities for the individual--this refers to decentralization and to greater legal protection. And third we must help in dealing with the problems of environmental protection."

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CSO: 3106

SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DEBATES PARTY REFORM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 May 80 p 7

[Text] "Technological development should not be counteracted by assaults on machines." The technological development should be guided by an evaluation of how it serves society as a whole. That is what 5 members propose as a proposition for debate in connection with the national congress of the Socialist People's Party in Arhus. The proposition was taken up yesterday and discussed in groups.

It was pointed out in a long analysis of technological developments that while labor was widely displaced during the 60ties by new techniques in the private sector, now it is the turn of the public sector, that is to say, in the area where increase in employment has been the greatest in recent years. It was pointed out that the heavy physical stress has been replaced in many years by an equally heavy psychological stress.

The 5 members with their proposition to the national congress are seeking to have the Socialist People's Party primarily strive for a democratization of the control over technology.

"If the wage earners do not obtain a decisive influence over the technological development, they will become in the course of the next decades surplus labor". The proposition proposes, "hence the wage earners, in order to have a real influence on their own standard of living, should here and now demand the veto right in a number of areas of production and planning." The proposition also demands, in the economic realm, a share of the net growth for the wage earners.

Ten members of the Social People's Party, including the two members of parliament, Margrete Auken and Ole Kalnaes, had prior to the congress criticized the agenda for the official debates. They demanded a more thorough-going critique of the influence of technology on the modern life style. They are demanding that technology take into consideration the environment and resources and that it will be used to create a better work milieu, instead of just creating new consumer goods.

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CSO: 3106

MODERATE SHIFT ON PROPERTY RIGHTS AT CHRISTIAN PARTY CONGRESS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 May 80 p 7

[Text] Private enterprise solely for personal profit is rejected by many people in the Christian People's Party. To the extent that a tendency can be noted there appears to be a slightly leftist view in regard to the concept of private property.

In a debate at the party's congress in Kolding yesterday Knud Erik Hansen from Sommersted said that work in itself is not a goal and should not have the decisive role in life. "To increase personal property and capital should not be the motive for work," he said. "It is the individual person and not the right to property which should be inviolable. What is decisive is not who owns the property but how the right to property is exercised."

Statement on Small Businesses

There was a debate on the employment, unemployment and the right to property. Knud Erik Hansen had a series of proposals for reducing unemployment. He envisaged financial aid being generally reduced 10 percent every 6 months and a reduction in the work week by 5 hours, with compensation in taxes.

The proposals were, however, rejected by, among others, Jens Moller, former national chairman, who asserted that a reduction in the work week would result in less production, not in more jobs. A proposal that wage earners pay the first three sick days was likewise categorically rejected by many people at the meeting.

A committee formulated a debate proposal on the situation of the smaller businesses. It is evident that operating a small business is often a way of life in which the members of a family can work together. The Christian People's Party's attitude towards small business is based on its view that the family as the basic element in society should be strengthened. An effort should, therefore, be made to make it easier to start small businesses.

MODERATION IN PARTY THREATENS ANTI-EC MOVEMENT UNITY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 8 May 80 p 3

[Text] "The fusion of the nine EC countries into an economic superpower has many, many negative aspects, but one should not be blind to the fact that in the present world situation it also has a positive aspect."

With this example, among others, Torben Krogh, editor-in-chief of SOCIALISTISK DAGBLAD justifies his support for a proposal to establish a committee of Socialist opponents of the EC.

The proposal, which originated with the Leftist Socialist Steen Folke, was sent recently to sections of the Socialist People's Party for debate. It has been discussed in the lameduck executive committee of the Socialist People's Party which did not want to take a position immediately because it was afraid that a decision could lead to unintentional opposition to the People's Movement against the EC which the Socialist People's Party supports.

Conference Postponed

It was originally thought that the committee which was to be based on individual membership would begin with a conference in the middle of this month. The Socialist People's Youth Group and the Association of Socialists would be hosts, along with the Socialist People's Party and the Leftist Socialist Party. This has been postponed until the sections of the Socialist People's Party have had an opportunity to discuss the proposal.

The pertinent organs of the Socialist People's Party have attached great importance to maintaining the party's association with the People's Movement, even if there is growing criticism in the party regarding the role of the People's Movement in the task of opposing the EC. Pelle Voight, a member of the Socialist People's Party's executive board and the party's EC delegation informs INFORMATION that he finds communist domination of

the People's Movement a problem, even if he doesn't think one can blame the Communist Party of Denmark in this connection. Voight says, "It is rather the other organizations what are to blame for the Communists' getting that dominant position."

Nuances

Torben Krogh comments on the People's Movement, "A people's movement whereby we say 'no' and 'out of EC' was justified and necessary in the situation in 1972 with the plebescite. But now when we are in the EC and there is no likely possibility that we will get out of the EC temporarily, it is natural that the individual parties shade their opposition to the EC so that it harmonizes to a greater extent with what else they stand for. For the Socialist People's Party this means that opposition should have a socialist basis and that one should look at the matter from a more international angle because of the nature of the matter than the People's Movement can. The People's Movement can see what the EC does to Denmark. We others should do that also, but in addition we should note the division of power in the EC as such. For example, West Germany is not just West Germany but a class society with potential allies. It is extremely important that our ties with socialist forces in the other European countries be strengthened, even if they like the Italian communists support the EC."

"Do you also believe that Socialist People's Party members in the European Parliament should participate in debates on concrete problems and take a stand in regard to them?"

"Yes, indeed, although I actually do not consider the work in the parliament as particularly important."

"Is your goal cooperation of the European leftwing in EC?"

"Since the bourgeois have gotten into the EC, we are there, and a special fight is fought there. That does not mean that there cannot be others in such European leftwing activity."

Too Narrow

"Can you be more precise in your criticism of the People's Movement?"

"I often think that aspects of the People's Movement agitation are looked at too narrowly. One says that EC wants to do this and that, looking too much at who is doing and too little at what is being done and what the background is. Just because the work of the People's Movement has concentrated so much on parliament after the election, it is often the viewpoint of the completely wild, gush Europeans who sit there that one attacks. It is fine that it is being pointed out that super-Europeans

are sitting there with plans to coordinate everything including armies and navies but that might prevent a more deep-going analysis of what role the ECC is playing now for good or bad."

Positive Role

"One gets the impression from your recent editorials in SODA that you think the cooperation of the EC countries in foreign affairs plays a relatively positive role in the present international situation?"

"I believe that decisively but with 'relative' underlined. The Soviet Union and the United States are today equally deadly with their invasion and intervention policies, along with the fact that their increasing use of force to a large degree conceals increased uncertainty and insecurity vis a vis their opponent's intentions.

"I believe indeed that the policy which particularly Helmut Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing represent emphasizes the necessity for the two superpowers sitting down again and understanding each other's motives. That is an attempt to play a dampening and stabilizing role. The political limitations become apparent when all of them thrashed around in supporting economic sanctions against Iran, but the long hesitation and the more or less open criticism of the United States shows that the situation has changed.

"I am not saying that everything is fine with the EC's foreign policy, but one should analyze what is actually going on.

"Important changes have occurred in the world in the last six months to a year. When one, for example, evaluates the West German government, one must be just as open-minded to the fact that this government is one of the stabilizing factors in the attempt to avoid a world catastrophe, just as strongly as one disassociates oneself from the 'berufverboot'.

"One can also hold that West Germany and France could play the same role outside the EC. They can indeed, but the fact that they have the small countries in tow shows that the EC actually is economically a superpower like the United States and the Soviet Union," Torgren Krogh says.

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CSO: 3106

COMMUNIST PARTY TIGHTENS DOMINANCE OF ANTI-EC MOVEMENT

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 13 May 80 p 10

[Text] The Communist Party of Denmark has three times as many members on the executive committee of the People's Movement as any of the other participating parties.

Dominance by the Communist Party of Denmark was formally less on the executive committee elected at the national congress of the People's Movement in Sept. At that time the Communist Party of Denmark got only 4 of the 21 posts in the leadership of the movement. The Socialist People's Party and the Justice Party each got 2. But since then 2 of the candidates who campaigned under the slogan, "without party affiliation" have joined the Communist Party of Denmark. This involves the chairman of the Typographical Union, Henning Bjerg, and Arne Dahl Olesen from the People's Movement Committee in Alborg.

Will be Rectified

"I think it is unfortunate that so many communist party people are on the executive committee of the People's Movement today, but it can undoubtedly be rectified at the next congress," says Arne Rosenstand who belongs to the Socialist People's Party and is a member of the executive committee of the People's Movement.

Arne Rosenstand challenged his party's recommendation at the congress in September and was elected instead of Kurt Bernheim, a member of the executive committee of the Socialist People's Party.

"It is not correct in general to talk about dominance the People's Movement by the Communist Party of Denmark. That may be true in Copenhagen, but out in the country there are many committees where the Communist Party of Denmark does not make up a majority of the activists," says Rosenstand.

Frustrated

"Communist dominance only becomes a problem when the other parties leave the People's Movement. If the proposal for a Committee of Socialists Against EC becomes a competitor of the People's Movement, it is a very poor idea. If an organization is formed drawing the Socialist People's Party out of the People's Movement, I think the result will be that the Socialist People's Party individuals will be frustrated and won't be active anywhere.

"If the committee, on the other hand, joins in and becomes a part of the People's Movement, it's a great idea."

"But do you believe that the new committee can become part of the People's Movement?"

"No. In light of the fact that the proposal comes from the Leftist Socialist Party, which has been outside the People's Movement all along, I don't think so. But splitting the People's Movement will harm both the opposition to the EC and the Socialist People's Party itself. In our program we talk about supporting popular movement.

"But part of the problem is that the press blows up the problem. The press is so terribly attentive to any splits. If we could only work in peace. What we need at the moment is to hold together," Arne Rosenstand says.

6893

CSO: 3106

ANTIBUREAUCRACY MOOD REFLECTED IN NEW BOOKS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Apr 60 p 10

[Article by Knud Larsen]

[Text] In order to survive every free society must have a continuous and persistent debate regarding the premises on which it operates.

In Denmark this debate has normally not attained great philosophical heights. But questions are asked rather constantly regarding the structure of the government and the demarcation of society resulting from the political process.

The debate has concentrated in recent years on three main themes: a "socialist-critical" debate with many participants and an extensive literature, a "revolution-from-the-middle" debate with a popular form but supported by only a few reformers of society, and a "pragmatic" debate on concretely balancing the problems in the political, economic and social sectors. The recently deceased professor, Jorgen Dich, and Bertel Haarder, a member of parliament, have been the outstanding participants in the last-named category.

In the wake of Dich's encounter with the ruling class, Haarder came out with the book, "State Collectivism and Wasteful Production"; and then he has shown later in his books, "The Tyranny of Institutions", "Organized Unemployment" and "The Danes in 2002" that he intends to expand and deepen his observations on society and morality.

"A Time for Wailing", quite a title, is marked not so much by any new thoughts as by a collecting and systematization of certain tendencies which have been observed for a long time and which have been considered individually or collectively in the political debates.

"A Time for Wailing". It is the era when the organizations, despite their great influence, despite the progress of their members individually and collectively, and despite--or perhaps because of--their attaining almost completely their goals, are whining. Haarder presents his book as "an

appendix to the current textbooks on the political system in Denmark", and even if he does not use the terminology, his book can be regarded as a description of a situation in society when the organizations (corporations) have acquired the real power in a number of societal matters but a democratic-parliamentarian veneer continues to exist. Haarder is, in other words, concerned with steps on the road to the corporate state. In this he is in line with the trend which has been prominent both internationally and in Denmark in the last few years in modern political research.

It is popular to talk about the steps on the road to the abyss. If Haarder expressed himself in these terms, it can be presumed that the abyss to him is dictatorship, and that society has already taken steps downward leading us from a homogeneous, democratic ideal state, via a splintered and frayed democracy (particularly after the 1973 election) to a pseudo-democracy with strong corporate tendencies. From here it is only more step to the abyss--the corporate, Mussolini-type state. The road to an outright, undisguised dictatorship is clear.

Consequently, Haarder's book is more a cry for help than in the words of the publisher's adds, "an optimistic battle cry". For even if Haarder is an outstanding politician who arouses the voters with the call to battle, his main theme is the ruthless showdown with both the political and organization systems in Denmark. His message in simplified form is: when the state decided to pursue income policies by intervening in the collective bargaining mechanism of the labor market, the special interests organizations lost their original basis for existence. But the income policies failed, as they had to, because the organizations changed from being wage negotiators to being political pressure groups and participants. They became involved in politics rather than in agreements. They perforated the political system by using their enormous economic resources for action on all levels of society. They are undermining the existence of the political parties by both their influence in and their grip on the party system.

This syndrome, the derailed power of organizations, leads Haarder to set up two laments: the greater the improvement, the more hysterically cut-backs are bemoaned and the greater the pressure to get more. Furthermore, talking about the problems has nothing to do with their import but takes place only because the organizations especially have the time and means at their disposal to discuss them and to agitate for a solution.

The politician Bertel Haarder has his problems with this confession. When "group majesty", another of the book's dramatic concepts, presses onward, when the collective will threatens the individual's deeper interests, the political parties have the best intentions of, but little possibility for, damming up the flood of demands and opinions. Haarder anticipates a coming showdown with organization power in the form of a restriction of their economic power (though changed regulations regarding direct and

indirect taxation) and of a change in political power (through rules regarding secret balloting before initiating collective action). Thus, changes in the rules of the game applying to the public activity of the organizations.

One can ask if Haarder by means of his positive proposals (and a review does not permit a discussion of all the proposals which his lively imagination has produced) can attain his goal: to reestablish the parties in their ideal role. So far, it can be stated that he has, within his book, with his pointed, precise and fascinating style, with his ability to find a balance between opinion and documentation, laid a good basis for the debate which is essential if we are not going to slip slowly down to the next step towards the political abyss, which is no less frightening than the economic. With that background, "A Time for Wailing" should be regarded as a deeply serious book.

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CSO: 3106

ENERGY MINISTER TELLS OF HOPES TO BUY UK OIL FIELDS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 28 May 80 p 1

[Article by Peter Kjelstrup]

[Text] Energy Minister Poul Nielson has, or at least had until quite recently, concrete plans to allow the state-owned oil company, Danish Oil and Natural Gas, to take part actively in the search for oil in the English part of the North Sea.

This was confirmed indirectly by the director of Danish Oil and Natural Gas (DONG), O. U. Boldsen, who told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that as he sees the situation today this will not work out.

"This is a question that only the government can decide. But if the government decides in favor of this plan it will at the very least have to go through the Finance Committee," said the DONG director.

The concrete situation concerns 90 fields which the English government will be putting up for bids in about 3 weeks. According to sources Poul Nielson is interested in 6 or 7 of these fields on which DONG together with a consortium would make a bid.

According to sources in the branch looking for oil is a high-level risk. When one acquires a place to drill into, which is done by bidding, costs in the North Sea for seismic studies and a single drilling test alone can easily run up to more than 100 million kroner. And then the chance of finding oil is about one in eight.

Energy Minister Poul Nielson, who is currently in Iraq to investigate the possibilities for a state oil purchase, has made positive statements in the past about the idea of allowing DONG to take part not only in oil sales but in refinery activities and the search for oil as well.

The reason why the plan has probably been abandoned has something to do with the cabinet storm Poul Nielson ran into after publication of the contents of a contract for state oil from Saudi Arabia. Last night both Ireland and Belgium denied that they had signed contracts containing similar clauses, as DONG had charged. Before that both Finland and Sweden had issued denials which means that Denmark apparently is the only one to sign the "standard contract" which says that we must not bring Saudi Arabia into discredit.

6578

CSO: 3106

SOCIALIST LEFT SHOULD STRESS ECONOMY OVER ECOLOGY

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 5 May 80 p 16

[Editorial]

[Excerpt] "Can a party gradually become so green that one begins to see red?", party chief Torben Krogh asked amidst great applause when he played the role of conferee dressed in a monkey suit in a skirt at the national congress of the Socialist People's Party, but he readily admitted that as a monkey he was happy about the green development in the party.

It was gratifying that the Socialist People's Party, as the first party on the left, is taking up both humorously and seriously a discussion of "the red" and "the green". The matter was brought up on the first day of the congress, particularly by a number of people from Aarhus, who criticized the report of the executive committee for not emphasizing sufficiently the ecological crisis as a new basic feature of the crisis of capitalism. "The real optimists are those people who believe that the steady growth in production can give us a better life and believe that it is materially possible," the people from Aarhus said, referring to Andre Gorz' book, "Ecology and Freedom." They emphasized the necessity for a "red party dressed in green."

The party chairman, Gert Petersen, summarized the discussion in this manner, "The ecological problems are becoming greater, and therefore it is necessary for a socialist party to seek to harmonize these problems with the classical teaching. But if a socialist party takes them up, it would be dangerous to change the red color to green."

With these words the party chairman hardly differed with anyone in the Socialist People's Party. No one in the Socialist People's Party wants to change the Social People's Party into a pure green party, and no one believes that there is a need for a green party in Denmark like the West German.

It is certainly true that a new green party would not have the same prospects as in West Germany. The most important reason is that we have a

movement such as the OOA (?) which up to the present time has been sufficiently strong to prevent the introduction of nuclear power. In contrast to West Germany we also have a Leftist Socialist Party and a Socialist People's Party in parliament which is an unknown situation for the German leftwing.

But the need for a new green party can develop if the Danish left does not more thoroughly understand the social dynamics of the ecological crisis, which created the basis for "the green" being born in West Germany. The time is by when it was sufficient to make ecological problems an appendage, a minor part of the political activity.

As the Socialist People's Party meeting progressed, one could gradually note a tendency for the discussion of economic crisis to become less aggressive than at the congress' start.

The reason is that such discussions are new to the Socialist People's Party, and both the "ecologists" and the party's trade unionists are concerned about raising up differences which aren't actual. It should be noted at the same time that the background to the discussion at the congress was a presentation, "the influence of technology on employment, healthy and environment". At a very late date the "ecologists" presented an alternative proposition.

There arose a discussion in connection with the immediate question as to what ecology and consideration for resources mean for the trade union struggle. The ecologists are of the opinion that the trade unions should raise demands in connection with the content of production and the validity of the products. But as long as these conditions have not been attained, they do not think that the struggle for wages, which has a higher priority among trade union people in the current situation, should be curtailed.

It is understandable that the discussions are being handled carefully, since the ecological viewpoint raises new problems for the tradition labor union struggle, which can not be grasped immediately in their entirety.

But it will also be unfortunate if more partisan views are the reason that the discussion of the economic crisis is not as broad and thoroughgoing as is recognized in some parts of the party. It would be restrictive to make ecological and resource problems into a question of solely making demands on production, even if that in itself is central.

6893
CSO: 3106

PAPER QUESTIONS EFFICACY OF RECENT ECONOMIC COMPROMISE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 21 May 80 p 12

[Text] The finance minister's statements to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE yesterday about the socioeconomic effects of this spring's four-party compromise are quite astonishing. Svend Jakobsen said that no new calculations had been made in relation to the proposal presented by the government on 7 April because the effects of the present political agreement will be much the same. The compromise is in effect for 1980-81 only and the calculations presented by the Budget Department in Pamphlet 13-B are adequate in this context. The balance of payments deficit will decline from 16.3 billion kroner this year to 12.4 billion in 1981 and that is the goal of the compromise, the minister said.

The finance minister's remarks are misleading. The figures presented for 1981 by the government are based on an assumed improvement in competitiveness of 2-3 percent and the finance minister has no basis for saying that this condition will be met for the 1981 compromise year. On the contrary the prime minister has declared openly that no more income policy steps will be taken. Thus income policy in isolation or in combination with changes in the exchange rate is not viewed as a politically viable course. How then does the finance minister expect to be able to achieve the announced results expected for 1981?

It is quite obvious that the finance minister's payments balance estimate, which as we mentioned assumes a balance of payments deficit of roughly 12 billion kroner next year, lacks a factual basis and cannot be seen as an expression of professionally competent economic calculations. The anticipated decline in the deficit from 1980 to 1981 is also unrealistic in the context of the spring compromise. A few days ago the Industrial Council economists estimated that the balance of payments deficit in 1981 will be around 17 billion kroner which in their judgment would be about the same as the deficit for the current year. This estimate for 1981 is probably somewhat low in relation to what we should anticipate on the basis of the developments now in progress. But regardless of minor deviations in estimates it is quite obvious that the calculations the minister

found no reason to correct are totally misleading. The fact that the calculations for years after 1981 are also based on political wishful thinking, so that the misleading effect is cumulative as the years go by, serves only to emphasize further the government policy's flight from reality.

According to the finance minister the government's partners in the compromise, the Radical Liberals, the Christian People's Party and the Center Democrats, did not receive any other figures except those prepared originally, which only goes to show that these parties have been deceived about the socioeconomic effects of the measures they voted for. But perhaps they felt this problem was secondary.

6578

CSO: 3106

BRIEFS

HELICOPTERS FOR FISHERIES INSPECTION--The first of the eight big modern helicopters bought by the armed forces in Great Britain for use in fisheries inspection has now been delivered to the navy. This happened in London where the inspection ship "Hvidbjorn" acquired the helicopter while the ship lay at anchor in the Thames. The new helicopter is of the Westland Lynx type, the same type used in the British fleet. [Text]
[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 May 80 p 5] 6578

CSO: 3106

EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON CONSEQUENCES OF OPEC DECISIONS

DW121226 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German to East and West Germany
1040 GMT 11 Jun 80

[Excerpts from interview with Rudolf von Benningsen, chairman of the board of Veba-AG by reporter Rentschke--recorded]

[Text] [Question] To what extent will the planned oil production cut have an effect on the West German market?

[Answer] That is very hard to say at this point. There is talk of 3 to 4.8 million barrels every day, which is 150 million tons or even more. For Europe or the Federal Republic it would mean about 7 or 8 percent, if we assume that we will be affected proportionately by the production cut and supplies from the OPEC countries. They amount to between 7 and 8 million tons for Germany. Assuming that next year we will consume roughly 5 million tons less and that the non-OPEC countries will continue and possibly even increase their supplies to the Federal Republic, we might say that we will get off well enough.

[Question] Get off well enough, does it mean that our supply in the next few years will not be endangered seriously?

[Answer] I wouldn't say the next few years, because the reduced consumption also is due to the apparently slower rate of the economy and we do not know whether the oil supplies will remain the same quantitatively, that is to say, whether the oil will go elsewhere, because there are other consumers. Anyway we can now think in short terms only and here I would say that hopefully not too much will happen for the time being.

[Question] As for the price hikes, does it not mean that the mineral oil companies have no reason to envisage price increases?

[Answer] I have to admit that the recent oil price hikes will necessitate further price increases. We do not know to what extent these increases will be possible this summer. Regarding light heating oil we have seen

that they are going down, while gasoline and diesel oil prices probably will continue to rise, especially now that the holiday season has begun.

[Question] When do you think will West German consumers have to expect price increases?

[Answer] That is hard to say. According to the mineral oil companies diesel oil prices will rise soon. At this point I do not see such a development in the case of light heating oil. Here it is even possible that the price will remain the same and will possibly even go down a bit in the next three or four weeks.

[Question] Could a price increase be delayed in view of the available reserves?

[Answer] We have indeed considerable reserves. That is the point. The large reserves of the companies and the households will lead to a decline in the demand. This will result in a delay of price increases. You see, the market economy is still functioning. It also is quite possible that excess quantities will not arrive in Rotterdam again, so that the consumers will have a recess for some time. But we should not harbor any illusions. In the medium and long run the tendency of course is upwards.

CSO: 3103

POLLSTER VIEWS: ELECTION RESULTS, POLITICAL CLIMATE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 May 80 p 9

[Article by Prof Dr Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann: "Dress Rehearsal for the Bundestag Election"]

[Text] The North Rhine-Westphalian Landtag election of 11 May was the first in the history of the Allensbach pollster for which we had data available, but did not want to publish a prognosis. The data had been obtained by monthly nation-wide polls, which were sufficient to draw adequate conclusions regarding North Rhine-Westphalia due to the fact that this Land, the largest of the Laender, comprises more than one-fourth of the entire population. In early 1980 it was obvious that the CDU would not exceed 43 to 44 percent of the votes in the Landtag election if the front runner candidate would remain the same. The Allensbach pollster has for a long time, especially in pre-election polls, pursued the policy of providing as much transparency as possible in order to inform the public, and also as a control of demoscopic methods. This time, however, we evaded the issue. A prognosis indicating such a clear defeat of the CDU? We would have been blamed for having caused such a defeat. What should one do to refute such a reproach? Continuously concealing available data cannot be the right solution. It has already been determined that prior to the Bundestag election this fall, the Allensbach data on the parties' strengths will be published periodically.

So far attempts to shatter the superstition that demoscopic data cause follower effects have been futile, although there is no confirmation of this belief throughout the world. It is not demoscopic data, but merely the reality of publicly demonstrated involvement and self-confidence that causes follower effects. Even the data on CDU's strength published for North Rhine-Westphalia prior to 11 May--once quoted as 53 to 54 percent, then 48.5 percent a few days before the election: "The CDU has a slight head-start," said Biedenkopf--did not cause follower effects, but as far as can be ascertained, it did cause something else, and in this regard demoscopic data, whether published or distributed covertly, can be used as a political tool: in all probability the data cost the FDP their seats in the Landtag. The votes that the FDP received on 11 May were far less than the 6.5 percent predicted by Allensbach during the last week of April and the first week of May on the basis of 1,400 interviews conducted in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In all Allensbach record the following comment may be found dated / May 1980: "There is some uncertainty about those who are going to cast their vote for the FDP, for there are considerable differences regarding the certainty which party the voters will vote for. When asked the question, "Do you already know exactly which party you are going to vote for in the Landtag election, or are you still deliberating?", 9 percent said they would vote for the CDU, 11 percent stated their intention to vote the SPD, 27 percent said they would vote for the FDP, and 40 percent declared their intention to vote for the Green Party, adding, however, that they were still deliberating."

For undecided FDP voters with an inclination to vote for the SPD, it was politically sensible to give their votes to the SPD in view of the SPD slogan of an election outcome "on the razor's edge," and a confirmation by the CDU that 'we have a slight headstart,' because no one could predict whether the FDP would be able to exceed the 5-percent threshold. If not, then these voters certainly wanted to see the SPD and not the CDU become the strongest party in North Rhine-Westphalia. This can happen again on 5 October 1980, in the Bundestag election, and it would be much more plausible now that the FDP did not reach the 5-percent threshold in North Rhine-Westphalia. In the poll conducted by Allensbach in May, 44.1 percent of the population entitled to vote declared their intention to vote for the CDU/CSU, 44.7 percent stated they would vote for the SPD. Such a close follow-up is like poison for the FDP, for only a clear lead of one of the two large parties allows them to gather undecided voters.

The results of 11 May were particularly bitter for the FDP supporters campaigning in North Rhine-Westphalia, because they had slowly gained support between the end of 1979 and May of 1980. The number of those North Rhine-Westphalians who declared their intention to vote for the FDP rose from 5.7 percent in December to over 7 percent in late April. This rise in FDP supporters in North Rhine-Westphalia since the end of 1979 also shows that the various reasons for the FDP defeat quoted by SPD observers are not very plausible, e.g., that FDP voters had been deterred by Genscher's firmness in his policy towards the East bloc, or by Graf Lambsdorff's economic policy of free enterprise.

The voters' motives, and, in fact, the entire psychology of the voters seem to contradict many politicians' understanding. Possibly even the theory of democracy was a major contributor to the problems of understanding, i.e., the illusory assumption regarding the basis on which democracy allegedly functions: the citizens' willingness to keep abreast of all issues of politics in order to make a well-balanced, careful decision when voting in an election. It is these ideas that may explain initial statements made by CDU/CSU politicians following their defeat in North Rhine-Westphalia as to their future strategy: "It seems that more intensive discussions of political issues with the North Rhine-Westphalian SPD are necessary."

Probably democracy as a whole only functions because most voters look for a political home in the broadest sense of the word and will then in future elections orient themselves in reference to individuals rather than issues.

In the age of television, that is where democracy is being tested. It has been scientifically documented how the expansion of television has brought about an increase in the influence of this medium upon the formation of voters' opinion. If democracy has always shown a tendency by people to decide on the basis of individuals, not issues, television now adds another aspect: It can better depict individuals than issues. In the chapter "Elections in the Age of Television" of "Mass Media the American Politics," a book by the United States political scientist, Prof Doris Graber, which was published very recently, the feeling of trust is shown to be the most decisive factor in the voter's decision-making process. It quotes the famous test of whom you would rather buy a used car from.

To high-caliber politicians the idea that a population will base its voting decision on trust criteria when determining its political future may be unbearable. This is a fact, however, which can be made apparent by demoscropy nowadays, and it is also a fact that the image of Franz Josef Strauss of the CDU/DSU party, who is running for chancellor, is perceived by a large portion of the population through a filter of a negative stereotype which slowly developed over the years. While this image does not lack important political qualities, i.e., intelligence, knowledge of issues, political judgment, energy, leadership qualities, it does lack sufficient trust.

With television and demoscropy, democracy is taken more literally than has ever been anticipated and thought through with all its consequences by philosophers. To be more specific: In early 1979 the Allensbach Institute conducted a poll, and when the interviewees were asked the question, "Whom would you vote for, if...", the CDU/CSU scored 4 percent less votes when the question of which party the individual would vote for was not put in general terms, but when the front runner candidates Helmut Schmidt and Franz Josef Strauss were mentioned by name. In the fall of 1979, the Allensbach press service reported that the CDU had some 4 percent fewer supporters than 4 years before, and this has not changed to date.

The political analyst is not only irritated by how little the issues may determine the voters' decisions--he is further irritated by the fact that the idea of the "undecided mass" is not at all true; that the famous interplay of "Hosanna!" and "Crucify him!" has been falsely generalized for a long time. A so-called "concrete mass" of people in a specific location, physically close or in visual contact, may indeed be swayed within a very short time, but never the "dispersed mass," i.e., people in their day-to-day environment, however similar they may be, indicated by the term "mass": decades of demoscopic observation have shown slow changes in attitudes, with few exceptions. The attitudes towards Strauss had become very fixed since the early 1970s; in the early and late 1970s, Strauss ranked as a number one topic among the population, a polarization topic, "which even good friends could fight over." Quick changes could hardly be expected, especially since positive opinions about people may easily revert to negative ones, but rarely vice versa. The opinions whether people

prefer Strauss or Schmidt as Chancellor have practically been fixed. In December 1979, 22 percent in North Rhine-Westphalia said they preferred Strauss; in late April/early May this figure was 23 percent. In December 1979, 57 percent in North Rhine-Westphalia gave Schmidt their preference as chancellor, 64 percent in April/May 1980. When asked the question whether Strauss was helping or harming the CDU cause by campaign rallies in North Rhine-Westphalia, 19 percent answered in April/May that he was helping their cause, and 51 percent answered the opposite. Even CDU supporters were split in this question.

Given these facts, it is certainly wrong to try to find reasons for the CDU losses in the private sphere of their North Rhine-Westphalian front runner candidate Biedenkopf. When asked the following question, "In the coming Landtag election CDU's Kurt Biedenkopf and SPD's Johannes Rau are candidates for the office of minister president in North Rhine-Westphalia, as you know. If you were to decide now, whom would you vote for?" Biedenkopf received slightly more votes (36 percent) in late April/early May than Koeppler did in December 1979/January 1980 (32 percent). Koeppler's death, by the way, did not change these tendencies in North Rhine-Westphalia much at all; during the last week in April, the week in which his death was mourned, the CDU gained some ground; in the first week of May, however, things were again as they had been, with the CDU between 43 and 44 percent.

It has been ascertained that the CDU losses in North Rhine-Westphalia can be largely attributed to inadequate voter turnout by staunch CDU party supporters. This could be seen prior to the election. The quoted Allensbach record, dated 7 May 1980, reads as follows: "This time the voting participation will affect the results more than has been the case in the past. If the voting participation drops, this will mean a boost for the SPD, because the SPD voters show the most determination." It has been said that the CDU had not mobilized its supporters as successfully as the SPD had mobilized theirs. It is not that easy, however. A party whose supporters harmoniously sympathize for party and front runner candidates in Landtag and national elections will always attain higher voting participation. Dissonance, however, tends to cause abstention. In late April/early May 76 percent of the CDU supporters who preferred Strauss to Schmidt as chancellor, and 66 percent of the CDU supporters who did not want Strauss as chancellor "definitely wanted to vote." How complicated the matter was, may be seen from the fact that only 53 percent of the CDU supporters in North Rhine-Westphalia prefer Strauss to Schmidt as chancellor.

The CDU voters in North Rhine-Westphalia were exposed to considerable pressure related to popular opinion--a factor which is still underestimated by election analysts. In late April/early May the question was asked, "On 11 May, North Rhine-Westphalia will be having its election. There are two options, a CDU government, or an SPD/FDP government. No one knows, of course, but what is your opinion of who will win, CDU, or SPD/FDP?" Some 22 percent answered "CDU," 57 percent "SPD/FDP coalition," which means that those who supported the CDU were already on the losing side prior to 11 May, according to prevalent opinion.

Another test question shows what such a political climate means." I would like to relate a case to you and ask you for your opinion. Someone comes to a city unknown to him and is looking for a parking place--in vain. He eventually gets out of his car and asks a pedestrian, "Could you please tell me where there is a parking space here?" The pedestrian answers, "Ask someone else," and turns on his heel. I must add that the car driver had a party button on his jacket. Which party, do you think, did the button refer to?" Answers: 18 percent answered that the driver wore a CDU button, 7 percent answered that the driver wore an SPD/FDP button.

Public identification with a party in a negative political climate requires more courage by the staunch party supporter on the street than politicians may know--and expect. Due to their profession these politicians move about in their own circle of "political friends."

9544

CSO: 3103

CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING FAILS TO RESOLVE PARTY DISPUTE

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 7 Mar 80 p 44-46

[Text] "The communists must begin to follow the rules of their party, or the party will be destroyed," Aarne Saarinen wrote recently. In the Finnish Communist Party's never-ending quarrel, discussion currently centers on who is breaking what rules, and if they are being broken, is it better to break party rules or decisions of the party congress. Or for that matter, were certain party congress decisions--which it is claimed have been violated--ever even decided upon?

The Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party met recently at Pyhtaa for informal talks on the internal condition of the party, with next year's 19th party congress in mind.

Nothing concrete was accomplished at Pyhtaa. But the meeting fired off a minutely detailed debate on the lines followed by the factions in the party's press.

These declarations and the ensuing debate continues to remind one of the old story of the conversation between two deaf people. The parties to the power struggle cannot even agree that there is a power struggle in the party.

Preparations are underway for the party congress. There is general agreement in the party that the procedure followed in the previous congress--the technical ratification of compromises previously agreed upon and glossing over controversy by avoiding decisions--is unacceptable. Aarne Saarinen is now demanding that the 19th Congress be opened up for decisionmaking and even voting. To communists who traditionally emphasize absolute unanimity, voting in such circumstances seems strange.

Who Is Breaking What?

There is currently very pointed discussion about breaking rules and mandates. At times these remarks refer to coalition politics and at other times they

refer to organization work. The predominant issue is the debate is participation in the coalition government. The party minority believes that participation would be acceptable only when the program of the government corresponds to the long-range goals of the Finnish Communist Party, as a result of which the party would not be required to make compromises which would put it in support of "national monopoly capitalism."

This means that the other parties in the coalition would have to give far-ranging approval to the objectives of the Finnish Communist Party and consent to advance them. Since this is not the case, the minority hard-liners feel that participation in the coalition government violates party congress mandates and party objectives.

Therefore, the minority feels justified and considers that they are following the party's "correct" line in pursuing their policy of opposition politics. The majority wing, on the other hand, believes that in opposing the coalition, the minority is in conflict with a basic principle of the Finnish Communist Party: Once made, a decision must be adhered to. In this case, the decision which was made was to participate in the government. The majority defends its participation in the government with the claim that it is easier to carry out party objectives inside the government than outside.

Vague Decisions

Aarne Saarinen is demanding that the 19th Party Congress must make a "clear decision" on participation in the government. It thus becomes apparent that it is quite proper that earlier decisions are being disputed. This is the result of all that avoiding of decisions.

It used to be the practice in the Finnish Communist Party that the Central Committee agreed upon a report of its activities, which was then presented to the party congress as the official statement of the Central Committee. This report covered party activities, including possible participation in the government. But during the split it has become customary for the party congress to receive two conflicting activity reports from two different groups.

That is what happened in the last party congress in 1978. In the debate that followed, nine district organizations who support Aarne Saarinen came out in favor of participating in the government and eight district organizations who support Taisto Sinisalo were opposed to participation. Saarinen then pointed out that a majority of the district organizations favored participation in the coalition government. Thereafter, this has been considered the congress' approval of participation in the government.

Saarinen's proposal would mean in practice a return to the old arrangement. Both the Central Committee and the party congress, if necessary--and it will probably be necessary--will vote on the matter. This would produce a clear decision, which would then be binding under the rules.

During coalition negotiations, the actual decision on whether or not to participate in the government is made in a meeting of the executive council and the parliamentary delegation of the Finnish People's Democratic League plus the Finnish Communist Party's political commission. It is the People's Democratic League which is represented in parliament and in the government and includes supporters of Saarinen who do not belong to the Finnish Communist Party. Last time, the decision was made to participate in the coalition government, but a dissenting opinion was also recorded; once again, a "clear decision" was lacking.

Forbidden Activity

The rules fight is also affecting cooperative efforts. In districts dominated by the majority wing of the party, the minority hard-liners have an effective organization, the TIEDONANTAJA [newspaper of the minority wing] societies, whose job is to railroad minority business around the official party machinery. Consequently, an important function of official party machinery in these districts is to hamper the minority.

Where the minority controls the Finnish Communist Party organization, the majority works with the socialists of the People's Democratic League to bypass communist party machinery. Where both the communist party and the People's Democrats are controlled by the minority wing, the Saarinen supporters of both organizations work together in the KANSAN UUTISET [newspaper of the majority wing] organization. Party regulations prohibit cooperation of any sort.

Where Did It All Begin?

It is extremely difficult to determine whether the internal conflict in the Finnish Communist Party arose originally from intellectual and political differences or from organizational and personnel clashes. The minority claims the former, the majority the latter. In his statement in KANSAN UUTISET, Saarinen says that the conflict can be traced back to the inflexibility of the old party leadership in the 1956 crisis of the international communist movement and to its inability to exploit the election victories of 1958. When pressure was brought to bear to change party leadership, the leaders accused their opponents of revisionism.

The minority wing says that there were indeed revisionists, reformers inspired by Alenius idealist socialism, who defeated the orthodox Marxist leadership in 1966. The new leadership then directed the party into reform politics in contradiction to the long-range objectives of the party, say the hard-liners.

According to Saarinen's supporters, the power struggle is the result of the 1966 losers seeking revenge. The minority says that there is doctrinal and political disagreement, with no clear opponents. Since there are no opponents, there can be no power struggle. The majority considers this to be absolute hypocrisy.

Who Wants a Revolution?

The dispute over policy origins and substance seem irreconcilable. Here are a few examples.

There is concern in the party that support for the People's Democrats has not increased. On the contrary, its share of votes has declined over the long haul.

Saarinen feels that the founders of scientific socialism were not infallible and that their science must be adapted to changing circumstances. He says that the great majority of people do not feel a need for a socialist revolution. Bourgeois democracy is felt to be extensive, Finland is felt to be a "free country." Furthermore, existing socialism has not proved to be sufficiently attractive. Saarinen feels that the broad masses are satisfied with pushing for the extension of democracy on all levels of society.

The idea of extending democracy from a bourgeois democratic base is one of the basic principles of Alenius socialism and has always caused hard-liners' cheeks to burn. Taisto Sinisalo writes in opposition. Sinisalo says that the decrease in support for the People's Democratic League is due to the party's involvement in the government's bad politics. As he sees it, the fact that most people support reformism instead of revolution, is no reason for the People's Democrats to support it. On the contrary, the party should strive to weed out reformism from among the people through revolutionary enlightenment and particularly in the struggle among workers.

The awareness and the toughness brought about by this struggle led in part to the minority group's overwhelming prodigious activism in the wage struggle, which has sometimes caused Saarinen to complain about "economism and reformism." The two sides are in disagreement over whether conditions of the laboring man have deteriorated. Saarinen's followers emphasize the rapid rise in the standard of living since the World War, while Sinisalo's supporters complain about "the increasing power and status of big capital."

Reputation as an Unpatriotic Party

Saarinen's reference to existing socialism aroused the expected response from Sinisalo: Existing socialism offers an "attractive example" and the responsibility of the communists is to demonstrate the meaning of practical socialism. In KANSAN UUTISET, Saarinen grants that there are grounds for the belief that the Finnish Communist Party is "unpatriotic, the agent of a foreign state." The minority respond with a counterclaim.

Sinisalo's followers have long been known to be in good standing with Moscow's hard line, and the party cannot agree on the question of the party's image. The majority position is to try to demonstrate to the broad masses that the Finnish Communist Party is a patriotic, democratic, responsible party and a part of Finnish society. It is an old theme, but the hard-liners argue

against it saying that every attempt to prove to opponents that the party is socially acceptable moves this revolutionary party towards submitting to bourgeois rules of the game.

The same theme is reflected in the dispute over the Finnish People's Democratic League. The minority wants a non-socialist Finnish people's Democratic League as a support for an orthodox Finnish Communist Party, which would leave "socially acceptable socialism" without official standing, and which would also eliminate the forum in which leftist socialists support the communist party majority in the party's internal struggle.

The minority has proposed that the communist party should have its own publication. KANSAN UUTiset is published by the communists and the People's Democrats jointly. Initially TIEDONANTAJA was suggested as the voice of the party, but now Sinisalo has proposed KANSAN UUTiset instead. The paper's policy and its ideological and political content would be determined by the Central Committee. The People's Democrats would be given space for commentary, or it could publish its own weekly publication.

The People's Democrats consider the proposal to be unrealistic, a rhetorical blow in the minority's organizational struggle.

Ultimatums or Discussion?

Writing in KANSAN UUTiset, Saarinen has called for a return to following party rules, or the party will face complete collapse. Sinisalo accuses Saarinen of delivering ultimatums and says that party unification through discipline and administrative acts is not in the interests of the party. "The establishment of discipline by administrative means is not the communist way."

It is the objective of the minority to achieve unity through dialogue. The majority hopes that discussion no longer means that the minority dictates to the majority, since minority influence is awakening in many areas. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine that the hard-liners would start compromising with "revisionists."

This phase of the discussion can be viewed together with international events. Deteriorating world conditions have historically brought unification pressure in the communist movement; now the leaders of both sides are urgently calling for unification, each for his own reasons.

Looking at it from Moscow's point of view, it would seem that whoever comes closest to accepting unconditionally practical socialism and the politics of its representatives, would have the advantage. However, the international communist movement must also take into consideration the evolution of the power and influence of the two sides.

CP MINISTER AALTO DEFENDS GOVERNING COALITION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 May 80 p 9

[Article: "Aalto Supported Government Base"]

[Text] On Wednesday Labor Minister and Communist Party First Secretary Arvo Aalto attacked the Center Party with a fury. Aalto, who spoke at the Cultural House in Helsinki, did, however, support the current government base. It should not according to him "be exchanged for a greater uncertainty, from which rightwing forces will with all probability benefit".

Aalto had the following to say about the Center Party: haughty, indifferent, nervous, rightwing-oriented, neglectful of the poor, and rancid.

According to the first secretary of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] the congress of the Center Party and the attempt to change the party's leadership has caused Center Party ministers to be dictatorial in public. However, they have lost their ability to cooperate within the government, stated Aalto.

In Aalto's opinion it is clear that indifference with respect to agreements has aggravated the Communists as well as the Social Democrats. The increase in support for the Conservative Party predicted by public opinion polls and the nearness of local elections have increased the Center Party's inability to cooperate and its nervousness, stated Aalto.

The Weakest Link

Aalto, who has injected political spirit into the government, posed the question: Has the current government cooperation of the left and the center exhausted its viability completely?

Aalto considers the weakest link in this cooperation to be the Center Party, whose position has become weaker and is continuing to become weaker. In his opinion the Center Party has failed after becoming urbanized and neglecting agriculture as a trade union party in comparison with the MPK [Agrarian League].

According to Aalto the Center Party is attempting to prevent this development by heading toward the right in its economic policy and by neglecting its tradition as a supporter of poor people.

In the opinion of the SKP's first secretary the Center Party has retained its position of importance only because the leftwing has allowed the Center Party to use the power of the Conservative Party in the government.

The Center Party has attempted to use this power sanctioned by the leftwing against the leftwing itself, stated Aalto and added that such a situation cannot continue for long.

Aalto sees two alternatives, either the Center Party returns to its position as an equal partner in cooperation or it accepts responsibility for the destruction of cooperation without a definite alternative for future government cooperation.

"Social Democratic Leadership Uncertain"

According to Aalto an unwillingness to cooperate with the Center Party has increased in the Social Democratic leadership. In his opinion the reason behind this is the concept that increased support for the Center Party can only be halted by allowing it into the government.

However, according to Aalto the SDP [Social Democratic Party] is not prepared to accept the Conservative Party as a partner in government and this situation has "led the SDP leadership into a certain state of uncertainty with respect to government cooperation with the left and the center".

Neither are the Social Democrats ready to enter into a long-term opposition policy, which would be built on a strengthening of unity in the workers' movement and on an active class struggle on the part of the working class, stated Aalto.

Aalto emphasized that the SKP and the SKDL [Finnish Peoples Democratic League] are not at the mercy of government cooperation with the left and the center even though "we are aimed in this direction as a matter of principle and we consider it to be important".

In Aalto's opinion the current government base "should not in the present or any other situation be exchanged for a greater uncertainty, from which rightwing forces will in all probability benefit."

Aalto placed the slight decline of support for the SKDL on the shoulders of the Communists themselves. "The basic reason for this decline lies in us ourselves, in our own inefficiency, in our habit to carry out policy and make it known."

"Presidential Elections Lie in the Background"

According to Aalto the struggle for Urho Kekkonen's successor lies in the background of this political crisis. He emphasized that the Center Party's responsibility for the disintegration of cooperation is heavy since it occurred in a situation "in which the political positions and candidates for the presidential elections have not yet been clarified".

According to Aalto the SKDL is giving close consideration to the aggravated international situation, the changing world situation, and the need to safeguard the achievements of cooperation in making decisions for the near future.

According to Aalto the near future will see a hard campaign for the kind of political situation in which the next president will be elected.

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CONSERVATIVE CHAIRMAN SUOMINEN AGAIN OFFERS PARTY FOR COALITION

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 May 80 p 6

[Article: "Conservative Party Offered Hand to Center Party"]

[Text] Conservative Party Chairman Ilkka Suominen offered the hand of big brother to "the bourgeois little brother", the Center Party in Espoo on Saturday. Suominen, who spoke at a council meeting of the party, proposed a re-evaluation of the government basis and emphasized a cooperation between the Conservative Party and the Center Party.

Suominen, who is chairman of the largest opposition party and the second largest party in the Diet, considers that the Center Party has become nothing more than a hired hand in the government. The Center Party's problems are not reduced by the fact that it has in recent years come to play the role of the little brother in bourgeois politics, continued Suominen.

Suominen, who talked about the difficulties of this "fraternal party" sees a clutching for straws in the Center Party's behavior because of the party's difficult situation.

In spite of their apparent differences, the Center Party and the Conservative Party make up a definite common political force in Finnish society. The continual transition of the emphasis in this power grouping toward a conservative direction has brought about a situation in which a discussion concerning party policy is centered more around the main opposition than the ruling parties, stated Suominen.

Suominen, who has approached the Center Party, considers that the Conservative Party belongs "to the moderate, cooperation oriented center-right portion of the party rank and file, which has clearly defined limits with respect to the left as well as the right."

On the left the limit is that the Conservative Party is not a supporter of socialism, on the right the party excludes those forces which do not approve the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line.

Dangerous Intimations

Without mentioning any names Chairman Suominen discussed Bank of Finland Director Ahti Karjalainen's (Center Party) speech in which he stated that increased support for rightwing forces has caused difficult political situations.

In addition to being harmful to the speaker himself, indefinite intimations are also harmful to the whole political process. The cultivation of political uncertainty is an incorrect weapon to use in the competition between parties, stated Suominen.

"The signs of uncertainty with respect to our opponents or competitors are, however, the result of the weakening of their own political positions and not the result of unknown political factors in Finnish society resulting from increased support for the Conservative Party," stated Suominen.

Poor Ratings for the Government

Suominen gave the poorest rating for the government since the government that succeeded the emergency government in 1976. The only plus the government has is that it did not work as energetically in the wrong direction as the emergency government in December 1975.

Suominen considered that the government should attempt to live at least a year ahead of time in the same way as corporate managements do.

Suominen also criticized the government for its appointments, in which it has not been able to find a sufficient degree of stateliness. The fault lies in the fact that the ruling parties have for years controlled the various ministries. Even though ministers change, the same parties continue.

It seems that the tendency toward socialism is being accomplished by civil servants, stated Suominen in referring to the leftwing ministries.

Party Secretary Jussi Isotalo brought into Conservative Party use a conservative adaptation of the tax cut invented by the liberals. An inflation cut. What is meant by this is a revision to take inflation into consideration in the tax tables.

Isotalo demanded a strengthening of the Diet's position in the formation of a government in such a way that the Diet can adopt a position with respect to the government while it is being formed.

Pension Reform According to Resources

The taciturn party council approved three public statements at the conclusion of its meeting.

In the opinion of the Conservative Party the second phase of the pension law reform should be accomplished quickly in order to provide support for low-

income pensioners. The expenditures for subsequent phases should be better equalized between the recipients of pensions and production. The tax burden cannot grow, but the emphasis of taxation should be transferred away from incomes to consumption taxation. Also the pension reform must not become a counterpart of the family policy reforms, proposed the Conservative Party.

Because of the unstable government situation, the Conservative Party proposes "a clarification of government alternatives that better correspond with public opinion and negotiations aimed at improving cooperation between the Parties".

As far as the reform of intermediate levels of administration is concerned, the Conservative Party considers it urgent to bring about a provincial administration instead of partial reforms concerning the state administration. Conservative Party supports the election of a council in connection with the municipal elections.

The council approved the party's accounts without any discussion. The total sum of expenditures was 15 million markkas. The party's debts are 4.7 million markkas. On the debit side are party support amounting to 7.6 million markkas, press support of 2.2 million markkas, membership payments of 1.8 million markkas, and subsidy payments of 1.4 million markkas. In the local election budget the share of the central office was 900,000 markkas.

The council also approved the centralization of local shares in the newspaper UUSI SUOMI. There are 960 shares out among the membership. When the shares are purchased for the party, it will mean 193 votes instead of the 223 at corporate meetings.

The council decided to keep membership payments at 30 markkas. For the local associations the council approved a recommendation according to which membership payments are collected on a graduated scale according to one's income. An individual earning less than 20,000 markkas would pay 35 markkas and an individual earning more than 40,000 markkas would pay 100 markkas.

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CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY CONGRESS APPROVES NAME CHANGE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 May 80 p 6

[Article: "Constitutionalists Change Name"]

[Text] On Saturday the Constitutionalist Peoples Party changed its name to the Constitutional Rightwing Party. The name change was approved on Saturday at the party congress held in Helsinki by a vote of 51 to 9. The majority at the congress considered that the party's name should express its location on the political map.

Georg C. Ehrnrooth was reelected as chairman of the party. Peter Kankkonen will continue as party secretary. Kullervo Rainio was reelected as first vice chairman. Jaakko Paananen was elected into the open position of second vice chairman. His predecessor, Erkki Hautamaki, recently moved to the ranks of the Rural Party.

In its statement the party congress demanded a change of the government base. In the opinion of the party congress the results of elections should finally be reflected in the formation of a government.

The local elections program of the Constitutionalists was also discussed at the party congress. The Constitutional Rightwing Party supports the development of local self-determination by local referendums, among other things, economizing of public expenditures as well as bringing a halt to political appointments.

The party which has now changed its name to Constitutional Rightwing Party came into existence 5 years ago. The constituency of the party came primarily from the rightwings of the Conservative Party and the Swedish Peoples Party. The main reason for the party's establishment was the so-called exception law resulting in the reelection of President Urho Kekkonen.

At this time the Constitutional Rightwing Party does not have a single seat in the Diet. At its best the party had two Diet representatives: Ehrnrooth, who came from the Swedish Peoples Party, and Rainio, who left the Conservative Party.

PEKKA JAUNO ASSUMES CHAIRMANSHIP OF USSR-COOPERATION GROUP

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 1 Apr 80 p 26

[Article by Kristina Ritvos: "Even Raade Asked for Aid in Power Struggle Between Technical-Economic Committee and Economic Commission"]

[Text] The bitter struggle over which organization in Finland will be able to manage technical-economic cooperative relations with the Soviet Union is abating. Two cooperation organizations, which have diligently invaded each others territories, the PT (Technical-Economic) Committee and the Economic Commission have taken off their gloves and have begun to eliminate overlapping activities.

But before much was accomplished, there was a change of chairmanship in the PT Committee, a unification of the organizations was intimated, and Uolevi Raade was to be appointed to the leadership of this unified organization.

The Scientific-Technical Cooperative Committee or the PT Committee, which celebrated its 25th anniversary this year, in its early years concentrated more on science than technology. It was led by Academician Kustaa Vilkuna until 1974 and it was his interest that directed it toward cooperation in the area of linguistics and ethnography.

It was not until the next chairman, Alko's General Manager Pekka Kuusi, took over that activities began to expand and things began to happen. An economic cooperative commission was, indeed, established already during Vilkuna's term or in 1967 and Dr. Ahti Karjalainen was appointed to direct the Finnish side of it.

It was considered that Karjalainen took all the credit for himself and the Center Party for the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union. Kuusi, who is a Social Democrat, and certain other party comrades also wanted to get their share of this important cooperation.

The work of the work groups became more active in the PT Committee as well as in the Economic Commission. Overlapping of responsibilities began to accumulate and relations became strained.

A Failure To Mention Norilsk

The original idea was that relations in the area of commerce were to be handled by the Economic Commission. However, this did not happen with respect to the Norilsk copper smelter and mining project. The matter progressed without any problems in the PT Committee and an agreement was reached on the project. Someone "neglected" to inform the Economic Commission and Outokumpu received the blame.

The situation became aggravated and last fall Pekka Kuusi resigned from the PT Committee. Vice Chairman and Finnish Sugar's General Manager Raino Rossi acted as chairman for the rest of the year.

At this time even the Social Democrats warmed up to the proposal originally coming from the Center Party to unify the PT Committee and the Economic Commission. The main idea behind it was probably to eliminate duplicate work, but there was also the hope of being able to diminish Ahti Karjalainen's power in the management of relations with the East.

An individual of distinction was to step into the leadership of this unified organization and Neste's General Manager Uolevi Raade was conveniently retiring. The matter progressed so far that Raade studied the composition of the personnel for himself. One of the conditions for Raade's selection was also that the organizations be unified. He was not interested in just the chairmanship of the PT Committee.

Raade Unpredictable in Human Relations

At this point in time industry began to back down.

In the opinion of industry Raade was too unpredictable to manage relations with the East. "It is well known that Raade's strengths do not include human relations," it was stated.

During this same period of strained relations the PT Committee concluded one of its largest contracts, a methodology study compiled together with the Soviet Union. It was sent out for people's opinions with great expectations.

However, the criticism coming from the Foreign Ministry and the Economic Commission in particular was shattering. The study christened as a methodology was classified as difficult to understand and unsuitable for practical usage.

Unification Was Abandoned

In this atmosphere there was nothing left to do but to try to find a solution to these badly strained relations.

First the idea of unification was abandoned. Partially because there were also on the Soviet side traditionally two cooperative partners, of which the PT Committee's counterpart is the State Committee on Science and Technology and the Economic Commission's counterpart is the Foreign Trade Ministry.

In the Soviet Union the State Committee on Science and Technology represents the consumer and the manufacturer, the Foreign Trade Ministry represents the seller or the purchaser.

In Finland the PT Committee has represented basic scientific-technical work and the Economic Commission has represented economic or commercial endeavors.

A Moderate Jauho as Chairman

At the beginning of the current year the situation began to improve. A politically nonaligned scientist, State Technical Resource Director Pekka Jauho, was elected as chairman of the PT Committee.

Overlapping activities are being eliminated and work groups doing approximately the same kind of work have been classified and their areas of responsibility are being defined at the secretarial level.

Minister Tankmar Horn, chairman of the Wartsila Board of Directors, has been elected as vice chairman of both organizations or as a liaison man. Horn has been involved in the PT Committee for several years already. However, the last time he served in the Economic Commission was when he was chief of the trade policy section of the Foreign Ministry in the 1960's.

The previous liaison man was Reino Rossi, who is retiring from Suomen Pakeri [Finnish Sugar] and who it was considered could not be elected either as chairman of the PT Committee or the Economic Commission.

New Chairman Jauho Does Not Support Unification of PT Committee and Economic Commission

"I have been elected as chairman of the Scientific-Technical Committee and I will carry out the will of the country's political leadership," explains the newly elected chairman, Professor Pekka Jauho, who is the director of the State Technical Research Center.

He has been involved in the work of the committee for several years already.

Jauho does not want to interfere in the events of recent years and states that, for example, the idea of unifying the PT Committee and the Economic Commission has not been discussed anywhere officially.

"Unification in my opinion would not be possible when one takes into consideration the Soviet organization. The State Committee on Science and Technology and the Academy of Sciences which deal with scientific-technical cooperation there are powerful institutions and it would be difficult to imagine that their affairs could be taken care of through that country's Foreign Trade Ministry."

Jauho states that these kinds of two-part agreements are no longer concluded, but technical-industrial-economic cooperative agreements are now being concluded.

"However, scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union has old traditions. In the beginning there were many difficulties with respect to this work and moreover Finnish industry was prejudiced against cooperation, industrial spying was feared, and so on."

"Now that this work has progressed enterprises understand the vast importance of cooperation," states Jauho and admits that international cooperation in the area of science and technology is on the whole difficult.

The Future Is Now Important

The new chairman emphasizes that it is now important that the PT Committee attempt to build a conciliatory future together with the Economic Commission.

He refers to a piece of paper which lists the work groups of the PT Committee as well as the Economic Commission. There are two adjacent lists of names of work committees, whose areas of responsibility are to be studied and a determination will then be made with respect to what duties belong to which work group.

Cooperation has already been accelerated at the secretarial level in Finland. And even more extensively: The first joint meeting was held in which Soviet as well as Finnish secretaries participated.

"According to the regulations questions concerning trade belong to the Economic Cooperation Commission and research is a jurisdiction of the PT Committee," continues Jauho.

"I do not in any way want to disparage the importance of direct commercial ties, but the creation of a positive atmosphere and trust as well as an increase in knowledge are important.

"The work groups are made up of the same individuals so that it should be possible to find a reasonable division of labor."

PT Committee Also Has Political Goal

According to Jauho the PT Committee also has a political goal: an increase of interaction between the countries and the promotion of general information and science. The development of commercial and industrial relations is a desirable byproduct, but it is not the only goal.

"The PT Committee's role should be creative and it should strive to deepen cooperation as a joint scientific project," explains Jauho.

He cites an example: The nuclear technology security project has done good work and it has been a benefit to both parties and has also resulted in a savings of expenditures.

"We are now in dire need of additional ideas now that an attempt is being made to balance the trade between Finland and the Soviet Union. In addition to this, we also need more professional personnel, language ability..." considers Juaho.

"The PT Committee is the only creator of ideas, direct trade ties are certainly more important than it," adds the chairman.

Cooperation is naturally characterized by the fact that the whole structure of Soviet science is exceptionally natural science-technical oriented, states Juaho and complains that he is frequently without justification labeled as an unrestrained promoter of technology and an opponent of the other sciences.

Methodology Study Will Earn Respect

As far as the fuss about the methodology study is concerned Juaho states that it will not revolutionize the world, but it will earn respect. The study was accomplished at an exceptionally high level and is the first in its field. The study deals with procedures by which a joint venture can be materialized.

The study will be of assistance in making contacts with the most important people in the Soviet Union. It includes Finnish as well as Russian-language agreements, vocabulary, and so on. It will indeed be of benefit to industry, believes Juaho.

He also promises a popular edition of the study.

Horn: Overlapping Is Not a Serious Problem

The new liaison man, Minister Tankmar Horn, states that he has not yet had a chance to attend a single meeting of the Economic Commission so that in practice his work has not yet started.

He confirms that both cooperative organs have a clearly defined area of operation. The PT Committee deals with science and the Economic Commission deals with trade relations.

Only a part of the tasks overlap. However, Horn considers that overlapping in the work groups has not been a serious problem. "The work groups have rather supplemented each other than accomplished overlapping work."

In his opinion it is hardly sensible to combine the PT Committee and the Economic Commission. Especially now that both sides seem to want to accomplish a closer cooperation.

Horn emphasizes that our industry will benefit greatly from the fact that Finland with its limited power resources has been able to enter into the kind of scientific-technical cooperation that is being carried out in the PT Committee.



Director Pekka Jauho's task is to cool down overheated relations with the Economic Commission and Ahti Karjalainen.

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FINN-STROI SUBMITS PLANS FOR USSR KOSTAMUS PROJECT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 12 Apr 80 p 24

[Article: "An Offer to Finn-Stroi for 3-Billion Markka Contract"]

[Text] The official offer obtained by the Finn-Stroi Corporation for the construction of the second and third phases of the Kostamus project means a repetition of Finland's largest ever export transaction. The first phase of the Kostamus Mining Industrial Combine was worth approximately 3 billion markkas. It is estimated that the value of the next two phases will be equivalent to the first phase.

Finn-Stroi Managing Director Risto Kangas-Ikkala states that the company will begin the detailed preparation of this offer at the first opportunity. At best the construction of the second and third phases will begin after a year, which means that there will not be any halts in the construction work.

The continuation of the Kostamus project will employ 3,000-4,000 construction workers for a period of 4 years. The new offer comes as a pleasant surprise to the Finns since in Kainuu there has been considerable pressure to employ the construction workers being freed from the first phase of the construction work. Approximately 1,000 construction workers have already returned to their home districts from Kostamus.

Production to Triple

The construction of the concentration plant in the mining industrial center will comprise the majority of the work of the third phase. In addition to this, the plans at Kostamus call for housing, a hospital, and other service-oriented structures. The size of these new projects will be approximately 4 million cubic meter

The construction of the new plants will increase the capacity of steel production at Kostamus from 3 million tons to 9 million tons. Production in the plants of the first phase will begin at the end of next year.

The Soviets have previously proposed that they hope cooperation between the host country and Finnish construction workers will be closer than before in the continuation phases of Kostamus.

They also hope that the use of Soviet construction materials will be increased. The Soviets have also considered the high cost of Finnish construction work to be a problem.

The Diet's Foreign Affairs Committee led by Diet Member Kalevi Sorsa went to the Soviet Union to familiarize itself with the Kostamus project in February. At that time the significance of Kostamus as a factor in alleviating Kainuu's gloomy unemployment picture was brought up. Also the Finns emphasized the savings of expenditures which they could accomplish inasmuch as the construction of the subsequent phases of Kostamus could be continued immediately after the first phase.

At Kostamus the Diet's Foreign Affairs Committee received a prestigious host country delegation, which was led by Nikolay Inozemtsev, a member of the Supreme Soviet.

Already at that time it became clear that the Soviets had adopted a positive stand toward the continuation of the Kostamus project with Finnish labor.

A city capable of housing 9,000 residents was also built during the first phase of the construction of the Kostamus Industrial Center. The housing center is located 7 kilometers away from the plants, of which the most significance are the central concentration plant and the pellet production plant.

In the middle of May it will be 3 years since the signing of the contract agreement for the first phase. Since then the project has employed 20,000 workers in Finland.

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FINNS, SOVIETS MOVE TO EQUALIZE TRADE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Mar 80 p 28

[Article: "Value of Additional Exports Close to 2 Billion"]

[Text] The negotiations with the Soviet purchasing delegation visiting Finland have progressed well. The metal and paper industries will receive the largest orders, but completely new export products have also been found. The value of the additional exports in the negotiations has already approached 2 billion markkas, of which the largest portion is made up of already concluded transactions.

The paper industry has already reached an agreement on additional exports worth 120-150 million markkas, and new orders are in the offing. However, the largest orders are made up of metal industry machinery and equipment although they do not include ships. The metal industry will receive orders amounting to at least 600 million markkas.

Exports of Tobacco To Begin

The selection of export products will be expanded. As a new item cigarettes will be exported to the Soviet Union. This is the first time that tobacco products have been exported to the Soviet Union. Exports of consumer goods will relatively speaking increase forcefully even though their share of the whole amount is still small. The clothing industry is negotiating additional deliveries worth 30-40 million markkas.

It is doubtful that exports of furniture will increase very much since large quotas have already been agreed upon. Agriculture exports will not increase except for certain highly processed products.

Electronics, tapestry, and leather products as well as footwear have also been mentioned as possible subjects to be considered for additional sales. The negotiators still do not want to precisely define the product groups, but exports that will balance the trade have been found.

Because the price of oil has increased, Finland's deficit with respect to the Soviet Union was 2.7 billion markkas at the beginning of the year so

that pressure for balancing the trade is considerable. However, in certain areas possibilities for deliveries have been exhausted.

The round of negotiations being conducted now are a continuation of the discussions held in Moscow 2 weeks ago. Another purchasing delegation is due to arrive here in April. After its visit the round of negotiations will be completed. At that time more detailed information will be published.

The delegation led by Deputy Minister B. S. Gordoyev arrived in Finland last Thursday and will return on Tuesday of next week.

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ARMY CONCERNED OVER LAPLAND FOREST CLEAR-CUTTING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Apr 80 p 12

[Article by Syen Wikstrom: "Military Does Not Like Open Clearings"]

[Text] The Finnish soldier who depends on protection from the woods is not pleased with the vast clear-cutting and the ever growing roads network.

According to Lt. Col. Hannu Sarkio, commander of the Lapland Light Infantry Brigade, there are too many forest roads and the clear-cutting are large. Environmentalists and reindeer herders, among other people, have also presented the same arguments.

As a result of actions connected with forest management and the exploitation of forests, the terrain of our country in Sarkio's opinion has become detrimental to national defense particularly in Lapland.

The phenomenon is not new. The forests of Lapland were denuded primarily in the 1950's. Since those times the methods of cutting have changed somewhat, the clearings have become smaller, but even the previous clearings have not yet grown new wood.

"The importance of the forests and the forest roads of Lapland to the country's defense has in recent years increased rapidly as the military significance of the area has increased," argues Sarkio.

"We can no longer influence past mistakes, but from here on out we can avoid the purposeful worsening of conditions with respect to national defense," notes Sarkio.

According to Sarkio, who was transferred from Sodankyla in the spring to become the assistant director of the national defense courses at the War College, large clear-cuttings are not at all suitable for the Finnish method of fighting.

The Forest Is the Soldier's Place of Security

The Finnish method of conducting warfare is primarily based on the infantry and the use of supportive weapons as well as guerrilla actions. For the

purpose of keeping armaments light an attempt is made to conduct combat at short distances of a few hundred or less meters.

According to Sarkio the forest has been the only place of security and terrain for the Finnish soldier.

"In war it is not at all a matter of indifference whether we are to go into combat in the forest or out in the open," states Lt. Col. Sarkio.

Large open areas facilitate the rapid movement of the aggressor. Movement is also facilitated by the roads network, which can easily accommodate even large groups of troops. The marshes are no longer an obstacle since many of them have been dried out.

The location of clearings and roadways can be easily accomplished from satellite pictures.

"In no case should clear-cuttings be larger than 20-30 hectares. They should also not be connected to one another. They should be interspersed by forests, which should be chopped down only after new wood has grown over the previous clearing," states Sarkio.

In the opinion of the Lapland Light Infantry Brigade there are entirely too many roadways in Finland. They may also in his opinion become a detriment to agriculture since movement is too easy.

Since roads leading to clearings frequently remain unused for several years it would in Sarkio's opinion be better to make light roads for one-time usage, which could be reforested immediately after the clearing has been accomplished.

Woodsmen Are Surprised

The Department of Forestry owns approximately half of the forests in Lapland. The largest clearings and roadways have thus been located on Department of Forestry Land.

Jaakko Piironen, chief of the forest management section of the Department of Forestry, considers the discussion about clear-cutting and forest roads as well as national defense to be surprising.

In Piironen's opinion an attempt has been made to openly discuss matters concerning forest management and the military.

"The only critical position so far on the part of the defense forces has concerned forest roadways. They are considered to be a problem from the point of view of national defense," states Counselor of Forestry Piironen. "But, on the other hand, a woodsman cannot get along without roadways and the timber cannot be hauled out of the woods. A forest road is important to everyone," states Counselor of Forestry Piironen.

Also Forestry Chief Leo Karvonen of the Veitsiluoto Corporation considers Lt. Col. Sarkio's point of view to be somewhat surprising. According to Forestry Chief Karvonen only the Department of Forestry, corporations, and joint forest owners to some degree are capable of large clear-cuttings in Lapland. "The surface areas of private forest owners are generally so small that they do not present a problem."

According to Karvonen areas typical of the 1950's are no longer being cleared. "Clear-cuttings are of the size recommended by Lt. Col. Sarkio and they are not connected to one another," states Counselor of Forestry Piironen. According to him the most demanding phase in the construction of forest roadways is over. However, additional roadways will be constructed to meet the needs of the forest industry.

"In both written and oral instructions we continually emphasize that a more critical approach must be taken with respect to the construction of new forest roads," states Counselor of Forestry Piironen.

Forest Industry Wants No Restrictions

Forestry Chief Karvonen hopes that the accomplishment of national defense goals will not present any additional restrictions to the procurement of timber by the forest industry in Northern Finland. "Industry needs all the wood it can get."

Counselor of Forestry Piironen refers to the recent report of the Lapland Forest Committee. According to this report there are still more than 1 million hectares of forests with a less than normal yield in Lapland. "In order to bring these up to standard, clear-cuttings are needed."

According to Piironen the forest industry includes many interests, which must be accommodated. "Employment is one of them."

While taking into consideration the interests of national defense, Hannu Sarkio, commander of the Lapland Light Infantry Brigade, does not necessarily demand a reduction of clear-cuttings. "The forests of Lapland are economically so valuable that it is impossible to imagine that they would be left outside of the economic sphere." According to Sarkio the inconveniences can be avoided with deliberation and cooperation.

"Cooperation and consideration of the country's defense interests could be accomplished even in some kind of a negotiating committee, which would determine the management and clearing of forests in Lapland," states Sarkio. He admits that negotiations and contacts have also been a part of their dealings with forestry people in the past.

"Even though cooperation between the defense forces and the Department of Forestry, for example, has in itself been rather good, it has nevertheless still been too little." On the other hand, according to Sarkio the viewpoint of the defense forces is also new.

PARIS CONFERENCE REDEFINES EUROPEAN COMMUNISM

Implications for PCF

Paris LE MONDE in French 26, 27-28 Apr 80

[Serialized article by PCF dissident historian Jean Elleinstein: "The Discreet attraction of Arch-Communism"]

[26 Apr 80, pp 1, 16]

[Text] 1. Choosing One's Camp.

The evolution of the French Communist Party was hastened on both the international plane and the domestic plane. It constitutes a considerable return to the past, marked by the almost complete rallying to Soviet theses in the matter of foreign policy and by a return to the besieged stronghold with respect to French policy.

The 28 and 29 April conference of the European communist parties that was convened by both the French Communist Party and by the Polish Workers Party marks an important date in the process of rapprochement with the Soviet communists that was started during the summer of 1977. This in fact will be a conference that is divided, since essentially only the communist parties that are in agreement with Soviet foreign policy, especially with regard to Afghanistan, will participate. The Yugoslav, Italian, and Spanish communists and those of many other countries will not participate. This is indeed proof that there are at least two lines in the communist movement. This is the truth that the leadership of the French Communist Party wanted to conceal after it broke with Eurocommunism and modified its policy.

The article published by L'HUMANITE on Saturday, 19 April, by Gaston Plissonnier is very indicative of this behavior. "The Prospects of Peaceful Coexistence"--that is the title of the article--seem to be patterned on those of the late 40's and early 50's: the Manichean division of the world into two camps, the successes of the USSR and of the socialist countries,

the difficulties of imperialism are expressed with that fresh naivete and that elementary over-simplification that are characteristic of the discreet attraction of the arch-communists. That caused me to want to re-read the report that Jdanov made at the constitutive meeting of the information section of the communist parties that took place in September 1947. Between an article by Maurice Thorez, entitled "The Struggle for the Republic and for the Independence of France," and another by Francois Billoux, "The Socialist Party, Active Wing of the American Party," one finds this report in the November 1947 issue of "Notes On Communism."

"The further we get from the end of the war, the more clearly apparent are the two main directions of the postwar international policy, with alignment in two main camps of the political forces that operate on the world scene: the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on one side and on the other, the anti-imperialist and democratic side." The United States heads the imperialist and anti-democratic camp. The Soviet Union leads the other camp. This is the analysis that one again finds in Plissonnier's 1980 article.

For 33 years imperialism has retreated and the anti-imperialist camp has progressed. Years have passed. For Plissonnier, history is summed up "in this vast plot that failed...Operations were carried out to liquidate the peoples' regimes and to re-establish imperialist positions: the Korean War and the Vietnam War, the riots instigated against the German Democratic Republic in 1953, against Hungary in 1956."

Stalin's crimes, the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Sino-Soviet differences, the 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party, the dramatic contradictions of the countries that claim socialism--all has slipped away, carried off by the strong wind of history. "The socialist countries have built a modern economy, have developed their social policy, made culture available to all the people..."

Let us cite two extracts from Jdanov and from Plissonnier, and let us find out which person wrote these sentences. "The anti-communist and anti-Soviet publicity spread about on a vast scale with the active participation of the Socialist International and, in France, with that of the Socialist Party, must not affect, or disguise, reality; it is not a sign of strength on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie." So much for the first. "Since most socialist leaders behave like agents of the imperialist circles of the United States of America..., the special historic role of heading the resistance to the American plan to enslave Europe...falls on the communist parties." The first extract is from Gaston Plissonnier and the second from Jdanov!

An Inopportune and Ineffective Conference

This simplification of international life induces the French Communist Party "to choose its camp." It is useful in that it makes it possible, from its bunker on Colonel-Fabien Square, to mow down the Socialist Party, but at the same time it obliges it to find fault with the communist parties and the socialist countries that refuse to accept this analysis and that for example condemn the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan: whence Georges Marchais' criticisms of the Italian Communist Party and of the Euro-Left.

Not to accept Soviet positions in the matter of international policy and to combat their hegemony nevertheless does not mean aligning oneself with American imperialism. It means resolutely adopting a line based on national independence, respect for the sovereignty of peoples and of the rights of man, a desire for peace and peaceful coexistence. It means helping those who in Moscow desire both the detente and the domestic reform that the economic situation requires and that a number of Soviets hope for. Mail from the readers of the Soviet press, the theater, the cinema, and the literature are proof of this, in spite of censure and the absence of public freedoms.

Nothing would be more urgent for the communist movement than to contribute to the union of all the forces, in Europe and throughout the world, that want to combat American imperialism and at the same time want to refuse Soviet hegemony. Alas, the only objective of the European communist parties will be to explain, against the desire of some participants, the merits of the theses of the Soviet hawks, called to mind by Ponomarev on the occasion of Lenin's anniversary. That is why it is neither opportune nor effective with respect to the very objectives that it proclaims. It seems to me that it would be much more useful to seek the bases of a common action with the socialist parties in West Europe through alliances and signed treaties, in order to restore and to broaden the bases for detente.

That means in particular that the Europe of the Nine must head a big movement for union with the countries of the Third World. This involves a gigantic plan for unprecedented economic and social development to help these countries to emerge from their state of underdevelopment; but the need for this plan must be explained to the European peoples and to our American allies because, without considerable sacrifices on the part of the peoples of industrialized countries, it will not be possible to effectively combat underdevelopment. This plan must not be based on interests of state, nor on those of big multinational firms. It must make it possible to establish a new climate in relations between the democratic countries of the West and the nations that have been constituted in the past 30 years, nations that often acquired their independence only by fighting against the West.

In order to have peace and democracy throughout the world, imperialism and neo-colonialism must be abandoned. A veritable crusade must be conducted in a new spirit, with resolution and clairvoyance. By aligning against the Soviet positions, by opposing that great plan [of alignment], the only way that we can unite all the peoples of the West and of the Third World on a basis of real equality and of respect for the independence of new nations. Afghanistan does not excuse El Salvador, Guatemala, Argentina, and Chili. I continue to believe that the Soviet people, as in the case of the American people, profoundly want peace. Let us then do everything possible to agree on the desires and the needs of the people and the policy of their governments. Let us halt the armaments race in Europe and resolve the problems of the Pershings and of the Soviet rockets by means of negotiation.

L'HUMANITE's Silence

The seriousness of the international situation is such that everything possible must be done to combat all initiatives that are dangerous to peace, as well as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and a possible American military intervention in Iran. Neither the conservatism of Afghan reactionary circles nor the inadmissible capture of American hostages in Tehran justifies military interventions which, under the pretext of curing the patient only aggravates the disease. It seems to me that it is more urgent to resolutely seek dignified ways of de-escalating the present international tension than to ratify Soviet positions that are open to criticism with respect to principles and that are criticized in a number of socialist countries, even in the Soviet Union, itself.

And finally let us not forget that Chtcharansky, Orlov, and many others are still imprisoned in the Soviet Union and that Sakharov is in exile in Gorki. Let us not forget all those who are hounded in Czechoslovakia because they favor Charter 77. How can one not evoke these attacks on the rights of man that have been committed against our ideal, at the very moment when a certain number of communist parties are going to meet in Paris? Among them will be representatives of those who are persecuting Sakharov and Daniszc. And let them not come and talk to us of Timor or of South Africa; they are not countries that claim socialism, and we do not need to be given any lessons on anti-imperialism. We must be hundreds of thousands of times more exacting when it comes to the Soviet Union than for any other country precisely because it is not just any other country. The ones who nourish anti-socialism and anti-communism are precisely the ones who act thus, defend these methods, or cast a chaste veil over the silence of L'HUMANITE and of REVOLUTION.

[27-28 Apr 80, p 8]

[Text]]. Return to the Ghetto.

In turning its back on Eurocommunism on the international level, that is, on an independent policy with respect to Soviet communists (LE MONDE, 26 April), the French Communist Party is also alienating itself on the domestic level. It is rejecting a true policy of opening and of change.

Immediately after the 1978 legislative elections we said right here that the French Communist Party was in the middle of a stream. It no longer was what it had been. It was not yet what it should be. Its leadership resolved the problem of which it was aware. Rather than risk confronting a real change in the party, it returned to where it had come from, that is, to the ghetto, to the priority struggle against the socialist party, to the traditional communism that was based on the tribunal function of the party, on the strict application of democratic centralism, on loyalty--now conditional--to the Soviet Union; in short, on what I term arch-communism.

Very significant from this point of view is what one reads in the party's weekly, REVOLUTION. Contrary to the promises that were made in June 1979, there is essentially no political discussion. Sometimes cultural matters are treated, since the contributors are not communists. The newspaper has been published for 2 months without a meeting of the editorial board. Georges Marchais' personal campaigns against the past have been utilized to close party ranks. A veritable personality cult is developing in the columns of L'HUMANITE. To what is all that leading? Of course there is a regeneration of militants here and there in the party, but the generations of May 1968, of the joint program, and of the 22nd Congress have been crushed, without having won the youth over.

The left and the French extreme left are engrossed in rivalries with respect to apparatus and men that seem to date from another age. The Congress of Tours took place 60 years ago! It is not a question of repudiating the past, but of understanding that we are in a radically new historic situation: in the one that Sartre describes in "la Nausee" ["Existentialism"]: "A perfect day to take stock of oneself: those bright rays that the sun, like a judgment without indulgence, casts on creatures enter into me through my eyes..."

The bright rays that today's sun casts on our world must help us to go beyond the paths that history up to now has helped to create. Without rejecting traditional leftist parties, one must now explore these new paths that the social movement is helping to establish in numerous spheres in an unforeseen and unforeseeable manner. It is not a question of being

demagogic and of flattering the new for political reasons. It is a question of situating ourselves resolutely in our own era, at a crucial moment in the history of the developed capitalist societies of the West. The very meaning of revolution in our time and in our country must be clarified by abandoning the old schemes and the old practices.

It is natural for one who is on the threshold of a new world to hesitate to embark on a voyage that one knows will be difficult and dangerous. However, there are some big Western communist parties that do not hesitate to face these risks, each in its own way, whether it be the Italian or the Spanish communist party. I do not claim that they are models, or that they have resolved all the contradictions that have come up. I merely think that they show how socialism and communism could develop in the West.

Let us look more closely at contemporary France, Europe, the world. They constitute a reality in which change is accelerated and that cannot be stopped from the economic, social, and cultural point of view in the same way as 10 years ago. Let us re-read the common governmental program of 1972. It seems to come from another age. Let us not forget, however, that it constituted a myth that generated hopes and that stimulated the French left. Hopes are accompanied by illusions, but the absence of hopes creates even more difficulties.

Division Sets In

Whether we like it or not, we are entering a presidential campaign and the least that one can say is that it does not help to unite the left. Division is setting in. After it affects the higher echelons of the parties, it affects the communes, it wins the trade unions, as the demonstrations of 1 May show in a pitiless way. And everywhere people on the left are available. Leftist approval seems to continue in the elections. The struggles of the workers, teachers, and salaried employees are active and are bearers of a hope of union and of victory.

In the PCF [French Communist Party] and in the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], the embers of change have not yet been completely extinguished. They continue to burn abroad, too. The petition for union in the struggles has shown the existence, in the big leftist parties and those outside of them, of a potential that must not be underestimated. Impatience, despair, and renunciation are not our line. There is no fatality that can make of the PCF "that big whale that is stranded on the beach," of which the philosopher, Georges Lichtheim, spoke. Here and there one calls on us to leave the PC. For some, we would be an alibi; for others, we would be persons in distress. Well, let us repeat it clearly. Nothing will cause us to give up a necessary and difficult political fight that is only just beginning.

in the communist party, as well as outside of it, there are considerable forces that closely affect the social movement. They are by-products that in turn stimulate it. One cannot stop them from actively participating in the changes and needed reforms. Beyond the clamor and the whispering, it is essential to define a path and to explore it. We know that it is beyond traditional socialism and communism. It is better not to explore it alone. It is not by repeating "Revolution, Revolution, Revolution!" that it will be done...In those circumstances it would have been done a long time ago!

Today we must analyze in detail the realities of the French economy and society and group all the social and political forces that want change, the only possible outcome to a crisis that affects more and more sectors of this society. These structural reforms can be realized only through the maintenance and development of political democracy. From liberalism let us retain the really decisive and important element of public freedoms and of positive democracy, without which there is no true socialism. Let us at the same time understand that traditional liberalism is incapable of meeting the needs of our society. To achieve that, it is necessary to develop democracy, that is, the participation of the entire base and, above all, in the daily life. The long, very long, experience that alone will make it possible to lessen the gulf that separates those who govern from those who are governed, of which Gramsci spoke.

Utopia! one will say, because that does not exist. But the distinctive feature of change is precisely that it creates what does not exist. Today the PCF talks of self-administration without putting it into practice. It is a question as much of changing the economy and society as of changing the state, that is, of democratizing it at all levels. Which doubtless implies new types of political practices, of which language, itself, is only one of the elements--and not the least. The "taking stock of oneself," in this connection can only mean going beyond oneself.

A New Hope

We, at least those of our generations of the pre-war, of the war, of the post-war, and of the cold war, have had to experience many vexations. There was 1920 and the hope of a socialist revolution, kindled by the October Revolution. It was there; one experienced it in Germany, in Hungary; then there was an ebb-tide and failure. There was 1936, the great hopes of the Popular Front, its social victories and its economic, financial, and political failures. Inflation and nonintervention. There was the resistance, the liberation, the lyrical illusion of a world that was changing; that was 1947. The colonial wars, the cold war, McCarthyism and Stalinism. There was 1968--Paris, where a new culture was expressed; and Prague, where socialism finally took on a human aspect. And there was failure in Paris and there were Soviet tanks in Prague.

There was the joint program, its hopes and its illusions; the failure of March 1978 and its consequences. Let us be politically and intellectually honest, that is, clear. Let us not blame others for the errors that we committed, the blunders that we made, the new that we ignored.

For the young generation all of that is history and no doubt the talk of veterans; but it is the history of the workers movement in France and in the world, of socialism and communism; and all was not useless, far from that.

As Marx said in his letter to Annenkov on 28 December 1846: "Thus productive forces are the result of the practical energy of men, but that very energy is circumscribed by the conditions in which men are placed, by the already acquired forces, by the social situation that existed before them, that they did not create, that is the product of a previous generation." Which is true: but productive forces are also the result of ideas. Let us hope that from the present conflict in ideas a new hope will emerge. It seems to me that we are closer to this goal in spite of appearances; but arch-communism will not help us to attain it.

Criticism of PCF Line

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Apr 80 p 2

[Excerpt from article by PCF member Helene Parmelin: "The Machinery To Be Mobilized"]

[Text] When Georges Marchais returned from Moscow, there was neither relief nor a wave of protestation. Nothing occurred--that one could see. Unless "within oneself." The "within oneself" are fierce procurers. But without success in the tunnel of silence.

Everywhere in the undertakings in neighborhood districts and in universities, the same precautions, more moral than political, protect the party, always supposed to furnish from the class struggle and the opposition to power an overall positive balance.

Communists first of all are paralyzed by their mobilization against the "ideological war." It is true that the class adversary has the most deadly weapon that it has ever had: the realities of "socialisms." Not only does the PCF refuse to take the responsibility of clarifying this reality, but it exalts it. Twelve to 15 million dead in the USSR and today's goulags become "a rightist" weapon.

Communists at the same time are muzzled by the pressure of putting up a barrier against the "anti-communist campaign." Which the party liberally

feeds by its archeological behavior, its Soviet alignment, its fanaticism for an evening at the theater, and its habit of substituting its postulates of "truth" for all historical proof, for all flagrant violations. The PC shoots the bullets that it furnishes and denounces an attack. In a pre-electoral climate when it appears very useful, one makes television available to it whenever one does not provide it with microphones. Thus it increases tenfold the anti-communist campaign that it denounces. If you bring this maneuver to light, you are anti-communist.

Next, communists are muzzled at the level of the rights of man. They fear that if they accuse "socialisms" of violating these rights, they will seem to be minimizing "imperialist" offenses, that the PC is showing favoritism. How can "socialisms" be attacked, without whitewashing "imperialisms"? Manichaeism becomes the best machine to immobilize. All must continue to be one and indivisible. Everything is occurring as if a rebel communist must be kept at bay every time the communist party, that he combats, supports a cause that is to be supported. One wonders why this opposition would suddenly be considered blamable? Would a child who laughs in Cambodia gainsay the Cambodian tragedy? Would the celebration of the Tet in Hanoi prove the nonexistence of a Stalin -Vietnam tragedy?

Finally, the communists, to put the finishing touch to the inextricability of their political thinking, have been drawn into the protection of the "honor of Georges Marchais" who, desirous of embodying the entire communist party, denounces the anti-communist attack against a communist party named Marchais. The "honor of Marchais" has been collectivised. Yet, the only real honor that one has known up to now, with respect to the 1939-1945 period, is to have participated one way or another in the Resistance, as in the case of a certain number of Frenchmen. This was not the case with Georges Marchais. No one is unaware of that. Just a point--that's all.

Who obliged the communist party and its press to respond to lowly attacks with shameful attacks? How did it happen that the communists who were called on to support Marchais did not regain consciousness and why did they allow the "Marchais affair" to be replaced by the Sovietization of the French Party, the only dishonor that really taints the communists: the unconditional rallying to the Soviet Union, to its methods of thinking and operation, to its fraternal tanks, and to its convincing bombs?

Do Not Cut Off the Intellectuals

The usual explanation satisfies most narrow views and transmits the ailment without remedy. The communists do not want to harm the working class. It does not want to hurt "those who protect it": the communist party. The great fear of seeing themselves classified as being in the rightist camp freezes the communists. One must not attack the "party of the working

class," because if one attacks it, one supports the enemy...

Is the PCF always the "supporter of the working class?" Even when it constantly explains that the high cost of living and austerity are diabolically desired and organized by the bourgeoisie? Even when it repeats all day long that unemployment delights the capitalists, who no doubt have fallen into a self-destructing masochism? Even when it revives chauvinism and a developing anti-internationalism? Even when it courts poverty? Even when it practices and flatters the doctrine that only workers are qualified to lead the most isolationist socialist movement?

Even when it militates for communist isolation? Against workers and political unity? Even when it launches the fire of its daily insults against the left, and then blames it for not throwing itself into its arms at each special election?

Is it also the "best supporter of the working class" when it suddenly decides to endow it with a stage for "revolution," generated by the need to cover up the bareness of its isolation?

Is it the "best supporter of the working class" when it again puts up the toppled statue of the happy proletarian in the "socialist" regime? As if the people had carried out the revolution and experienced the rest to attain a precise name for the authority that exploits it by suppressing the self-determination of men? And as if only the methods of an exploitation system constituted an improvement over another system of exploitation? One remembers the old and famous anecdote (Soviet, of course): "What is capitalism? It is the exploitation of man by man. What is socialism? It is the opposite..."

Final obstacle to the expression of truth: "We must not cut ourselves off from the working class." Usual expression with the intellectuals. Because one has seldom heard workers say: "Above all we must not cut ourselves off from the intellectuals." I am speaking of communist workers, to whom their party again presents intellectuals either as workers who produce ideas, who are exploited just as the regular workers are, with assimilable problems of exploitation; or as well-known bishops who are loyal to the party regardless of what it does, and who provide an esthetic note to the tribunes.

No solidarity worthy of the name will reciprocate. There are a thousand paths for communication. But, in order "not to cut themselves off," the communists cease being communists when they support a party that has lost its qualification along with its independence. And they persist in believing that, in spite of and against everything, the party is "changing," it "is advancing."

Because, in preparing a new credo, copied from those of the period prior to the Stalin deluge, the PCF has changed for many the innocence of ignorance into a voluntary and politician falsification of a reality that is only too well-known. It has understood the necessity of a modern illusion. It has invented the nuance. And never has the nuance of guarded speech been so cynically manipulated.

Typical example: the Communist Party and Georges Marchais say they consider Czechoslovak socialism as a caricature of socialism. That is how the party changes!...

No reference to the "socialism" that militarily installed its caricature of socialism in Prague: the same...

Another nuance: The PC disapproves of Sakharov's exile, a blow to "socialist democracy." The most pure followers of Marchais sign a protest against this measure. The mass media and the press echo the sentiment; they say that the Communist Party protests Sakharov's exile. And the relieved militants think that the party is changing.

But Georges Marchais and L'HUMANITE undertake to clarify their meaning. Sakharov is a "man of the right." What should have been done, instead of exiling him, is "to have convinced him." One cannot refrain from picturing Sakharov among the members of the political bureau of the French Communist Party, engaged in convincing him of the benefits of the socialist society, and of proving to him that "we are the ones who represent the rights of man"...It is true that today's dissidents "look good," according to Marchais.

These "nuances" result in aggravating the communist paralysis. It does not yield even before the extravagances published by L'HUMANITE. It is useless for "our special correspondent in Afghanistan" to resurrect the type of reporting of Stalin's time; it is useless for him to relate with what ardor the population and the Soviet military await "the end of foreign intervention"...The communists on the whole remain impassive. "Our special correspondent" even saw the "smiling" side of the Kabul marketplace. We are in the "Budapest that smiles through its tears," that caused so much ink to flow at the time of the entry into Hungary of the Soviet tanks that were requested by the government to counter "foreign intervention" in Hungary.

French communists continue to support their ideas to the point of exhaustion or to suffer in silence to the point of humiliation. For the most part, they restrain their reflections and their actions, voluntarily or otherwise, within their Stalinist straight jackets.

This is the Stalinist method, that has penetrated to the marrow of militancy, or to its adjunct, that petrifies thinking. It is the Stalinist method, with which the communist party protects and fortifies permanence, that confines the working and intellectual intelligentsia to the sophisticated meanders of a new Manicheism.

(This article is an extract from a long text that was sent to us by Mrs Parmelin from which, for reasons of space, it was necessary to omit several passages, in particular the introduction).

Eurocommunism; PCF, CPSU Relations

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by PSU National Directorate member Victor Fay: "Eurocommunism At The Turning Point"]

[Text] Eurocommunism, because of the test that it is experiencing, finds itself at a turning point. The political vagueness of its beginnings could last only on condition that Moscow would tolerate a certain amount of relaxation in relations between foreign communist parties and the USSR.

Well, such an attitude was repudiated by Souslov and Ponomarev, spokesmen of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], who demanded the alignment of the other parties with Soviet foreign policy and rejected, as unfounded and sacrilegious, the criticisms of the domestic regime of the foremost country of the "existing socialism."

A cleavage became inevitable between the parties tending to free themselves from Soviet tutelage and those for which solidarity with the USSR takes precedence over any other justification. Such was the case with the PCF, whose late and hesitant adherence to Eurocommunism was always doubtful.

The return of the PCF to unconditionality, the loud approval of the invasion of Afghanistan, have brought about dissension between the Eurocommunist parties and the pro-Soviet parties. One now knows "who is who" and "who is with whom." In disavowing the invasion of Afghanistan, the Eurocommunist parties were shown to be false allies and real adversaries.

They refused to participate in the conference of the European communist parties because of the French Communist and Polish parties, inspired and guided by Moscow. In doing this, the Italian and Spanish communist parties, as well as the League of Yugoslav Communists, foiled the maneuver which in any case could not contribute to detente.

Eurocommunism, in spite of its name, is not a geographic, but a political, notion. It has spread beyond the borders of West Europe. It is thus that

the Japanese PC, in spite of distance, is inspired by Eurocommunism; that the democratic current of the Polish PC is in favor of it; that the League of Yugoslav communists is drawing closer on numerous points.

In the difficult gestation of this trend, relations with the USSR present only one aspect, the best known because it is the most actively combatted by the leaders of the CPSU. The withdrawal from the USSR is explained by the choice of a strategy for an integrated national life; by the refusal of any international leadership and discipline, by the desire for rapprochement with socialist and social-democratic parties and with the democratic movements of christian inspiration.

For the Eurocommunist parties it is a question of abandoning the isolation in which they have been entrenched for so long and, in the face of the bloc of conservative forces, of contributing to the forming of a vast gathering capable of reversing the correlation of the forces that are unfavorable to the plan for profound structural reforms in West Europe.

What Togliatti defined in 1966 as polycentrism has become Eurocommunism. Practiced first, without their saying so, by the British, Belgian, and Scandinavian PC's, it has received great reinforcements from Italian and Spanish battalions, which gave it a dimension never before attained, capable of resisting Soviet pressures.

Proletarian internationalism, which involves unconditional support of the USSR, has survived. Each party determines its policy, supports or disapproves that of the USSR. What Stalin considered to be a maneuver, in order to appease Roosevelt's fears, when he dissolved the Comintern in 1943, has become a reality.

While taking into account national imperatives, the Eurocommunist parties are tending to transcend the borders of countries, to become integrated into a vaster structure, of a confederal or federal type making it possible for West Europe to become the third world power.

The Recent Strict Conformity

Quite a different matter is the national-communist proceeding. It consists of the exaltation of national values, the rejection of European integration, the support of close ties with the USSR. In particular, the PCF, which advocates French socialism, takes on the aspect of Gallocommunism. This term includes both the aspiration for independence from any center, whether it be Rome or Moscow, and the rejection of rupture with this center.

Gallicanism has never attained for the Church of France the independence that was acquired by the Church of England after its rupture with Rome.

For more than 1 century the Church of France has renounced its desires for independence. Gallocommunism also returned, after a brief deviation, at the time of the Afghan crisis, to its strict, recent conformity.

National communism cannot subsist without outside support. Having repudiated European integration, it can find it only in the USSR, which entails a pro-Soviet attitude. The latter is all the easier to adopt since it falls within the tradition of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1904 and 1944; it is coupled with some reservations regarding the domestic regime, both the Czarist for those in charge of the Third Republic and the Soviet for the leaders of the PCF.

The evolution of the distinction between national communism and Eurocommunism is far from complete. There are still a number of pro-Soviets in the ranks of the Italian and Spanish PC's. There are numerous partisans of emancipation from Moscow among PCF militants. A historic turning point of such amplitude could not help but arouse some deep eddies in the parties that have been drilled in discipline for half a century.

In renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary conquest of power, the Eurocommunist parties have decided in favor of respect for lawfulness, of the alternation of parties in power. This evolution results in their being rebuked for "social-democratizing themselves" and for dropping the principles to which, in words if not in actions, the leadership of the CPSU remains attached.

In foreign policy this evolution ends with the acceptance of the Atlantic Pact, the plan for the dissolution of antagonistic military blocs and for the neutralization of Europe. In this context, rapprochement with socialist and social-democratic parties became possible.

Of course, anti-communist prejudices are far from having disappeared in the social-democratic parties. However, meetings such as those of Berlinguer with Willy Brandt and Mitterrand manifest a progressive rapprochement between the somewhat isolated orphans of the Comintern, who are trying to emerge from the ghetto, and their adversary-partners within the European socialist movement.

From this rapprochement, still more virtual than real, has come the concept of the Euro-Left, of an assemblage of the democratic and social forces of West Europe. This concept, before even being implemented, was denounced as a betrayal by pro-Soviet communists.

This clear denunciation places the Eurocommunist parties before the alternative of returning to the fold, as the PCF has just done, or of breaking

away from Moscow. They will not do this right away. Too many restraints reduce their speed. On the occasion of the present international tension, Eurocommunism is experiencing its first serious crisis. If it retreats before the choice, it is doomed to extinction. If it surmounts it, it will contribute to completely changing the European picture and the relationship of world forces.

8255

CNO: 3100

COMMENTARY ON COMMUNIST PARIS PEACE, DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Soviet Pressure

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Daniel Vernet: "The Soviet Union Intensifies Its Pressures on Europe and Alludes to the 'Energy Weapon'"]

[Text] The conference of the communist and workers' parties of Europe--organized by the PCF [French Communist Party] and the Polish unified labor party--opened Monday morning, 28 April, at the Meridien Hotel in Paris. The deliberations (which are taking place behind closed doors) are scheduled to conclude Tuesday afternoon with a press conference at which an "appeal to the peoples of Europe" is to be presented.

A total of 22 parties are represented at the conference by the respective party officials responsible for foreign affairs, namely the communist parties of Federal Germany, East Germany, Austria, West Berlin, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and the Soviet Union. The French delegation is headed by Maxime Gremetz, member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the PCF [French Communist Party]; the Polish delegation by Andre Werblan, member of the secretariat of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]; and the Soviet delegation by Boris Ponomarev, member of the secretariat of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. The Swiss and Belgian parties are represented by observers.

Nine other parties were invited but declined to participate in the conference: the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; the Rumanian, Italian and Spanish communist parties; and the parties of Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, San Marino and Iceland.

In Monday's L'HUMANITE Roland Leroy, member of the PCF's political bureau and editor of its daily, emphasized that the parties represented "do not hold the same views on all questions." "There are differences--even major differences--among them on some questions," he wrote. "The very fact that

these parties are conferring demonstrates their desire to struggle in order to create the conditions necessary for overcoming the division of Europe into blocs. There is no doubt that the conference will result in developing the essential action of the European peoples in behalf of detente, peace and disarmament."

The other parties participating in the conference are represented by Messrs Axen (GDR), member of the secretariat; Schroeder (FRG), member of the secretariat; Scharf (Austria), member of the secretariat; Turf (Belgium), vice chairman; Dietmar (West Berlin), vice chairman; Lilov (Bulgaria), member of the secretariat; Norlund (Denmark), member of the secretariat; Fantis (Cyprus), deputy secretary general; Kivimäki (Finland), national secretary; Tsambis (Greece), member of the political bureau; Gyenes (Hungary), member of the secretariat; O'Riordan (Ireland), secretary general; Urbany (Luxembourg), chairman; Agius (Malta), member of the secretariat; Kleven (Norway), vice chairman; Angles (Portugal), member of the political bureau; Magnien ((Switzerland), secretary general; Bilak (Czechoslovakia), member of the secretariat; and a member of the political bureau of the Turkish party (clandestine).

Moscow (By our correspondent)--The Soviet Union is intensifying its multiple pressures on the countries of Western Europe. The unsuccessful intervention in Iran by the Americans provides the USSR with an additional argument in a campaign which has actually been waged ever since last summer, when NATO began seriously to prepare its decision concerning the installation of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The entire Soviet propaganda effort revolves around this theme.

This is probably also the principal aim of the conference of the European communist parties now being held in Paris. The fact that the potential dissenters chose not to attend will make it that much easier for the USSR to get its point of view endorsed by its brother parties. The absence of the Spanish, Italian, Rumanian and Yugoslav communists (to mention only the most important of the absentees) will diminish the impact of these resolutions, which will assuredly be hailed as victories for the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

The Communist Party of the USSR has left no lingering doubts as to its conception of the discussion that will take place with its brother parties. While advocating an exchange of views that will be "as flexible and open as possible," the CPSU clearly indicated that there is only one correct way of looking at the problems of peace and disarmament: its way. In an article appearing in the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, Boris Vesnine (a pseudonym that conceals the identity of a high-ranking official of the Central Committee) answered those critics who fear "a unilateral approach" to the question. He wrote that whenever there is talk of a unilateral point of view the reference is to the point of view of our country--of the Soviet Union. "Is this point of view a narrow way of approaching the problem?" Vesnine asked. "What then would a 'broad' way be? Must we support modernization of NATO--and criticize the USSR because it is unwilling to allow

parity to be violated?" "In fact," Vassine concluded, "the choice is not between a narrow or a broad way of approaching the question of disarmament; the choice is between a policy of peace and a policy that objectively leads to war. There is no third way."

Everyone must choose his camp and should do so speedily, for it is urgently necessary--to quote TASS agency--to stay "the hand of the militarists of the Pentagon and of NATO, who are threatening the future of detente in Europe and beyond." This is why all the proposals to postpone the Paris conference, however attractive they might be (a reference to the Rumanians), are unacceptable, an editorial in PRAVDA last week declared.

This Soviet plan to center all discussion on the decisions taken last December by the Atlantic Council has not been impaired by the recent events in Iran: quite the contrary. The USSR has derived new arguments from those events for use at all levels, and first of all at the level of public opinion. "The attempted American airborne landing (in Iran)," TASS agency wrote, "will undoubtedly compel public opinion in Western Europe to bring into question ever more intensively the propriety of the conduct of the Western European leaders, who have been demonstrating a surprising willingness to follow the directives of the White House."

Threats

These arguments are also for use at the level of the European leaders themselves. In its weekly foreign policy review, PRAVDA emphasized last Sunday that the events in Iran constitute new "evidence of the long-term hegemonic plans of American imperialism in the Near and Middle East region and in the Indian Ocean, and of its intention to obtain world dominion. These events have demonstrated that whenever the United States sees fit to resort to armed force it has no qualms about doing so." The relationship between the events in Iran--on the one hand--and the new nuclear weapons for the European theater is not difficult to establish. "After all this," PRAVDA writes, "can it be possible that some of the NATO countries still expect that the White House will consult them when it considers using the missiles deployed on their territory?"

The allies of the Americans are in fact "hostages" of the hegemonic policy of Washington. The Soviets explain that in artificially heightening the tension in the Near East the Americans are not pursuing purely local objectives. The Americans also wish to use this tension to help them regain control of their allies and strengthen their influence over the Atlantic alliance--an influence that has tended to decline as a consequence of detente. "This is why," writes LA RUSSIE SOVIETIQUE, "they would indeed like to put an end to one of the major expressions of the policy of detente, namely the strengthening of the independence of the Western capitals on the world scene."

The Soviet media are not content, however, merely to paint a very somber future for Europe in the event the latter follows the lead of the United

States: they unhesitatingly resort even to threats. One TASS commentator hinted last Saturday that Western Europe would not be exempt from economic reprisals were it to associate itself with the sanctions against the Soviet Union. Until now the Soviets had, to be sure, placed emphasis on the benefits that detente and cooperation can bring to the ailing economies of the West, and also on the negative consequences of a deterioration in East-West relations. TASS goes even further, however. "The crude pressure," it wrote, "that Washington has brought to bear on its allies in an effort to associate them with the policy of economic blackmail vis-a-vis the USSR sharply increases for them the danger of losing that traditional source of energy supply." To our knowledge this is the first time the USSR has raised the possibility of utilizing the "energy weapon" against Europe. The agency pointed out that the socialist countries are supplying the equivalent of 100 million tons of energy products per year to Europe, and that the Soviet Union is scheduled to deliver a total of 400 billion cubic meters of natural gas to the Western European countries by the end of the century.

Comparison With Previous Conferences

Paris LE FIGARO in French 28 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Annie Kriegel: "Moscow's Parisian Rendezvous"]

[Text] The conference of the European communist parties--convened on the initiative of the French CP [Communist Party] and Polish CP--opens today in Paris. There are some noteworthy absentees, however: the Italians, Yugoslavs and Rumanians. The theme of the conference is "peace, detente, disarmament and security," but it is basically the Soviet positions on these problems that will be put forward.

It is a "first": no conference of the communist parties of all Europe (both socialist Europe and nonsocialist Europe) has ever before been held in a nonsocialist country. The French CP has for a long time, of course, been receiving--within the framework of bilateral relations between individual communist parties--delegations or representatives of communist parties of the West and of the East: these are internal conferences that shape the theory and practice of an intensive intracommunist diplomacy and are made public (when they are made public) only in the form of "joint communiques" inserted in L'HUMANITE.

There were also multilateral conferences in Brussels (April 1959), again in Brussels (March 1963) and Ostend (December 1964)--conferences which were limited to the CP's of the six countries of the Common Market and were designed (as is, moreover, suggested by the choice of locale) to formulate a common position for the communist parties directly affected by the construction of the European Community now under way.

There were even four conferences that had been enlarged to include the CP's "of the capitalist countries of Europe"--conferences designed to strengthen the cohesion of the Western European communist movement precisely at a moment when the international communist movement was split by the Sino-Soviet schism. These four "regional" conferences (Rome, November 1959, with 17 CP's in attendance; Brussels, January 1965, with 19 CP's;¹ Vienna, May 1966, with 15; Brussels, January 1974, with 21) were all held in secret (or at least discreetly) inasmuch as they were not announced until several days after their conclusion.

Contrastingly, the two communist pan-European conferences that brought together (after interminable semipublic preparations) the two categories of European CP's--those who were in power and those who were not--met inside the borders of the socialist world (Karlovy Vary, April 1967; East Berlin, June 1976). These conferences (which were ostensibly convened to deliberate on "European peace and security") were actually conceived with a view to restoring the maximum of strategic unity to the communist world.

In the light of these previous experiences, the quick selection of Paris--immediately after the French Government gave its consent--is revelatory of the aims pursued by the organizers of the conference that opens today.

The decision to hold the conference in Paris is not a mere corollary of the fact that the French CP is one of the two host entities: in 1967 the same two hosts--the French and Polish CP's--had already served in that capacity, although the conference on that occasion was held in Bohemia.

The selection of Paris as the site of this pan-European communist conference (version 1980) results from the nature of the objective pursued, for the objective of the conference is not to enhance the internal cohesion of the European communist movement.

Quite the contrary: the conference has the disadvantage (resolutely taken into account by its organizers) of exposing the differences of opinion--and the reticences--that pervade the European communist bloc. The Italian, Spanish, British and Swedish CP's in the West--and the Yugoslav, Albanian and Rumanian CP's in the East--did not accept the invitation to send representatives to the conference. Is this a matter of little importance? That

1. To cite one example, the participants in the Brussels conference were: the German CP; the Unified Socialist Party of Germany (West Berlin); the CP's of Austria and Belgium; the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) of Cyprus; the CP's of Denmark, Spain and Finland; the French CP; the CP's of Great Britain, Greece and Northern Ireland; the Irish Workers' Party; the Italian and Luxembourg CP's; the CP's of Norway, the Netherlands and Portugal; and the Swiss Labor Party.

would be an exaggeration, but it is equally an exaggeration to call the rendezvous a failure because not everyone is attending.

It would be a failure had the objective been to deal a fatal blow to a Eurocommunism in which communist Europe has shown only a casual interest. That is not the case, however. There will be time later to undertake--in other surroundings and in other (and less pressing) circumstances--the task of making these parties listen to reason: parties which are dragging their feet for reasons that are, moreover, of a diverse nature. In any event, a practical application of the division among communist parties is taking shape: the scouts clear the way while the rear guards remain in contact with the outposts of the social democratic movement.

The reason for the selection of Paris thus becomes clear: in the case of a conference whose orientation is strictly external in nature, Paris offers a marvelous sounding board for topics which in the communist world have a strongly external application--topics such as detente and disarmament.

The communist leaders at the international level (including those who by the nature of things have been placed at the center of the communist apparatus, i.e., the Soviet leadership) have since 1975 gradually come to recognize the chances of success that a worldwide strategic offensive can justifiably be expected to have. They have ascertained the points of application that circumstances have provided for them. In the course of this favorable 5-year period, the Soviet Union has become emboldened to the point of involving itself in an offensive military action outside what is acknowledged to be its own buffer zone, namely in Afghanistan. The overall success it has already achieved encourages it to hope it may be able to move ahead even further.

The most elementary wisdom therefore calls for the Soviet Union to nourish the doubts of the Western governments concerning its short-term and intermediate-term intentions while at the same time using the sweet music of the litany of the words "peace," "detente," "peaceful coexistence," "friendship among the peoples," "security" and "disarmament" to conceal the danger of armed strife from the ears of public opinion. To accomplish this, the communist leadership has at its disposal three kinds of techniques which it can set in motion simultaneously.

The first technique applies to relations among states. The official visits--such as the one made by the Soviet minister of foreign affairs to Paris--on each of which the invited guest hopes to inform his host of his personal anxiety over all the dangers of war (except for the war which the Soviets are waging against the Afghans) belong in this category. Also in this category are the regional conferences of nations such as the one in Madrid this fall--a conference that could perhaps bury the memory of Kabul just as the one in Helsinki buried the memory of Prague and Budapest. Another such conference is the one in central Asia which is supposed to bring Afghanistan (occupied Afghanistan), Pakistan, Iran and India together in the search for an "appeasement" formula based on prior acceptance of the Afghan "fait accompli."

The second technique is the equally classic one of assembling the largest group possible of friends and supporters of Soviet policy, which they perceive as the purest expression of a policy of peace and detente. Together with its habitual contingent of "fellow travelers"--pacifist Christians who have more or less broken away from organized religion, or left-wing socialists who are fascinated by the anti-imperialist thesis of a Third World Marxism--the "Peace Movement" is therefore busy preparing a "world conference" to be held in late September in Sofia. A conference of the "progressive movements" of the Islamic countries will simultaneously be held in Tashkent. The agendas of these conferences will contain nothing--but nothing--that could remind anyone of Afghanistan.

The third technique is precisely the network of the communist parties themselves. In this "symphony," what is the particular role that these parties (those willing to do so) are called on to play? Basically, that role concerns the /interpretation of words/ [in boldface]; these parties are to impregnate Western public opinion with the /communist/ [in boldface] interpretation of the words security, detente and disarmament. Take the word "disarmament," for example: its communist interpretation, a strictly unilateral one, is applied only to the West, inasmuch as the armament--even the overarmament--of the East exists only to "defend" and on occasion to "liberate." Denounce the Pershings--yes; but not the Soviet SS 20's. In this connection, NATO's decision to phase in the Pershing missiles is singled out as the sole and unique event responsible for the international tension. Disarmament, moreover, is--from the communist point of view--an objective that has no target date and is unrelated to current events, just as it was from the point of view of the pacifists of the 1930's, who continued to speak of disarmament even after the remilitarization of the Rhineland (the equivalent of the present-day Afghan situation). Disarmament, in short, could affect only those types of weapons with which the West has equipped itself--nuclear weapons or the neutron bomb--but not conventional weapons, in which category the countries of the Warsaw Pact have an overwhelming superiority in Europe.

Prospects for Peaceful Coexistence

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 28 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by PCF Politburo and Secretariat member Gaston Plissonier]

[Text] The international situation--the aggressive campaign launched by Imperialism with the United States in the forefront--has led some observers to ask themselves two questions: How is the relative strength of the respective forces evolving? How are detente and peaceful coexistence faring?

We must therefore make an in-depth study of the history of the past several decades, in order that we may acquire a thorough grasp of the realities of today's world.

In the current political and ideological confrontation, one of the favorite themes of the defenders of imperialism is respect for what they call the "status quo" established in 1944-1945. What is the meaning of this?

At the Yalta and Potsdam conferences the representatives of the five great powers (Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, China and France)--on the basis of the lessons learned in World War II--agreed on measures to liquidate the after-effects of fascism and assist the concerned countries to achieve the democratic system of their choice. These agreements were not supposed to impose--in any way whatsoever--a particular form of society or establish any international "status quo."

In practice, however, the imperialist powers have attempted to use this concept of a "status quo" to combat the yearning of the peoples of the world for emancipation.

In 1946 the Western countries adopted a new strategy: the so-called "roll-back."

This strategy consisted of the elimination of the communist ministers in Italy, Belgium and France; the Marshall Plan; and the installation of political and military structures such as the Atlantic Alliance, NATO and European economic integration.

Various operations were carried out to liquidate the popular regimes and reestablish the imperialist positions: the war in Korea, the war in Vietnam, and the uprisings instigated against the German Democratic Republic in 1953 and against Hungary in 1956.

This vast plot failed. The new regimes--and the countries involved--have since become developed. Socialism has experienced a geographical expansion with the liberation of China, the birth of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, and the establishment of a new society in Cuba. At the same time, tens of countries with a total population of hundreds of millions were liberated from colonialism. In the capitalist world the labor and democratic movement has won firm positions.

Peaceful Coexistence Facilitates the People's Movement

The strength of the movement for social and human liberation (a movement without precedent in history) has dealt decisive setbacks to imperialism and wrought changes in the international situation.

Early in the 1960's the higher bourgeoisie were, in fact, obliged to re-evaluate the balance sheet of their policy in the light of the new relationship of the international forces, the reality of socialism, the end of the era of colonialism and the failure of the regional wars. Imperialism was no longer in a position to decide by itself the questions of peace, war and the result thereof.

It was then that peaceful coexistence was able to blaze a trail, and cooperation was successfully established in various sectors for the good of the peoples and nations of the world and for consolidation of the peace.

The socialist countries have built a modern economy, broadened their social policy, and placed culture at the disposal of the entire population. The national liberation movement has experienced new progress. In the capitalist world the working class, the workers, the democratic forces have compelled the forces of reaction to draw back (the fall of the fascist dictatorships of Spain, Portugal and Greece bear witness to this fact).

The past 20 years have accordingly been exceptionally fruitful years, by virtue of the results they produced and the lessons they taught, to wit, peaceful coexistence is the product not of the goodwill of imperialism (the nature of which does not change); it is the product, first and foremost, of the relationship between the forces facing each other and of the struggle of the peoples--two factors which are inseparable.

Peaceful coexistence greatly facilitates the action of the people's movement, whereas the cold war period was strongly characterized by plots and repression directed against the communist parties--against the revolutionary movement.

Counteroffensive by Imperialism

Capitalism unquestionably still possesses immense military forces and political resources. The evolutionary process of the past 35 years, however, has brought profound changes: changes in the world's geography, its economy, its political and military situation.

The crisis of capitalism is continuing inexorably, and unlike the 1930's the higher bourgeoisie can no longer find a solution in fascism. The world's peoples are turning increasingly toward a democratic solution--toward the concepts of socialism.

The leadership circles of imperialism have not neglected to analyze this situation. Realizing that peaceful coexistence facilitates the class struggle and democratic progress, they are striving to halt this forward march--to revive the arms race and rekindle world tension. Hence the growth of the military budgets, the decision to establish new missile bases in Western Europe, and the decision to augment military resources in certain regions of the Middle East and Asia, as for example Pakistan.

This counteroffensive also involves open military intervention, when necessary. If the plot instigated against the new Afghan regime had been successful, it would have ended in a blood bath such as occurred in Indonesia and Chile.

The outcry from world reaction is a clear indication that its plans have been foiled. The ideological war--the anticommunist campaigns (of an unaccustomed intensity) on the themes of human rights, the Olympic Games

boycott and petroleum--are being carried out in an attempt to win acceptance of this senseless policy.

Imperialism in a Difficult Situation

In France, the government of the higher bourgeoisie (whose foreign policy is subordinate to imperialist strategy) is bound up with the policy of the American and West German leaderships--with the installation of the Euro-missiles and the reactionary decisions of the European Community. It is abandoning all that remained of the positive aspects of De Gaulle's foreign policy and is reintegrating France more and more into NATO.

Aside from the speeches and the statements, those who direct the affairs of France are not acting in accordance with detente: by their anti-Soviet attitude they are instead continuing to aggravate the problems and intensify the elements of tension. At the same time, the president of the republic--who is thinking of his reelection in 1981--is resorting to machinations and making demagogic statements because he cannot disregard the views of the French public, a majority of whom are rather wary of France's alignment with the United States and the FRG and appreciate the value of Franco-Soviet understanding and cooperation.

Moreover, the anti-imperialist movement is strong in Iran and places Carter in a difficult position.

In various countries of Central America, large-scale popular actions are being carried out in opposition to the policies--and governments--that have been imposed by the United States.

The legislative elections in India brought victory to the anti-imperialist forces.

The campaign launched by the United States to boycott the Olympic Games is meeting with opposition from the Olympic committees, the international sports movement, and a very large part of the peoples of the world who have refused to confuse politics with sports and have voiced support for the Moscow Olympics. We may also mention that the truth is coming out with respect to the real situation in Cambodia, and it contradicts the torrents of lies poured forth against that country and against Vietnam.

Who Is on the Offensive?

The anticommunist and anti-Soviet uproar that has been stirred up on a vast scale--with the active participation of the Socialist International and, in France, of the Socialist Party--should neither impress anyone nor conceal the realities of the situation, for it is not a sign of strength on the part of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Everything serves to confirm the fact that the forces of progress and peace are sufficiently numerous and sufficiently powerful to impose a new stage in peaceful coexistence--and by the same token, to facilitate other successes for democracy and socialism.

The French communists can take great pride in having been among the active fighters for detente and coexistence. They will not allow themselves to be hindered by the extremely malevolent attacks and slander directed at them. Today, as yesterday, they are taking their stand resolutely within the vast movement of the peoples in behalf of social emancipation, the independence of nations, international cooperation and world peace.

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CSO: 3100

PROCEEDINGS OF COMMUNIST PARIS PEACE, DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Summary of Proceedings

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 29 Apr 80 p 10

[Text] The conference of European communist and workers parties for peace and disarmament opened on Monday 28 April at 9 am at the Hotel Meridien in Paris. It is being attended by delegations from 22 parties, namely, those of: FRG, GDR, Austria, West Berlin, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and USSR. The PCB [Belgian Communist Party] and the Swiss Labor Party are attending as observers. The meetings have been chaired by Maxime Gremetz (PCF) [French Communist Party]; Karl-Heinz Schroder (DKP [German Communist Party (FRG)]); Hermann Axen (SED [German Unified Socialist Party (GDR)]); and Erwin Scharf, Austrian Communist Party. The following speakers addressed the conference during this first day's proceedings: I. Norlund, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark; R. Urbany, president of the Communist Party of Luxembourg; A. Werblan, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Unified Workers Party; J. Turf, vice president of the PCB; B. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party; E. Scharf, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party; P. Agius, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malta; A. Fantis, deputy secretary general of the AKEL [Working Peoples Progressive Party] of Cyprus; H.I. Kleven, vice president of the Communist Party of Norway; E. Rivilaki, member of the Political Bureau and national secretary of the Communist Party of Finland; S. Tsambis, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece; K.H. Schroder, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the DKP; A. Lilov member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria; M. Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PCF [French Communist Party]; H. Axen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the SED;

a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Turkey; V. Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; and D. Ahrens, vice president of the Unified Socialist Party of West Berlin.

The conference will continue and conclude its work on the morning of Tuesday 29 April.

Maxime Gremetz welcomed all the participants in behalf of the Central Committee of the PCF, pointing out that our ambition as communists is precisely to contribute to the affirmation of the active role of the communist parties in this domain. "This, in our view," he said, "is the most effective way to create the conditions most favorable to dialog and to common action with the political, social and religious forces in each country and at the European level."

Maxime Gremetz also emphasized the "constructive spirit" of the conference. Among the proposals submitted on the very first day, that of the Finnish Communist Party, calling for a broad-based rally of the forces for peace be held in Helsinki prior to the government-level conference of Madrid (continuing the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe]), received the immediate backing of the French delegation and of other representatives.

List of Foreign Delegations

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[Text] DKP [German Communist Party (FRG)]:

K. H. Schroder, member of the Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee

Martha Buschmann, member of the Presidium

Peter Dietzel, chief of the International Department

SED [German Unified Socialist Party (GDR)]:

Hermann Axen, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

Egon Winkelmann, head of the International Section

Bruno Mahlow, deputy chief of the International Section

Alfred Marter, deputy chief of the International Section

Austrian Communist Party

Erwin Scharf, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

PCB [Belgian Communist Party] (Observer)

Jef Turf, vice president

Susa Nudelhole, member of the Central Committee

SED [Unified Socialist Party of West Berlin]

Dietmar Ahrens, vice president

Margot Mrozinski, member of the Political Bureau

Harry Flichtbeil, member of the Political Bureau

Bulgarian Communist Party

Alexandre Lilov, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

Dimitre Stanishew, secretary of the Central Committee

Christo Maleev, deputy head of the International Department

AKEL [Cyprus Working Peoples Progressive Party]

Andreas Pantis, deputy secretary general

Christoforos Ioannides, chief of the International Department

Communist Party of Denmark

Ib Norlund, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

Jorn Christensen, secretary of the Central Committee

Anker Scherning, member of the Central Committee

Communist Party of Finland

Erkki Kivimaki, member of the Political Bureau, national secretary

Olavi Poikolainen, member of the Political Bureau

Hannu Vuorio, member of the Political Bureau

Irina Lindeberg, central committee associate

PCF [French Communist Party]

Maxime Gremetz, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

Francette Lazard, member of the Political Bureau

Jacques Denis, member of the Central Committee

Communist Party of Greece

Stratis Tsamiris, member of the Political Bureau

Vassilis Venetsanopoulos, member of the Central Committee

Petros Roussos, central committee associate

PSOI [Hungarian Workers Socialist Party]

Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee

Janos Berecz, member of the Central Committee, chief of the International Relations Department

Gyula Horn, deputy chief of Central Committee International Relations

Communist Party of Ireland

Michael O'Riordan, president

James Stewart, deputy secretary general

Luxembourg Communist Party

Rene Urban/, president

Aloyse Bisdorff, member of the Executive Committee

Francois Hoffmann, member of the Executive Committee

Communist Party of Malta

Paul Agius, member of the Secretariat, member of the Political Bureau

Mario Mifsud, member of the Central Committee

Communist Party of Norway

Hans Kleven, vice president

Polish Unified Workers Party

Andrzej Werblan, secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Political Bureau

Jerzy Waszczuk, secretary of the Central Committee

Krzysztof Ostrowski, deputy chief of the International Section

Portuguese Communist Party

Carlos Abreu-Angles, member of the Central Committee

Maria da Piedade Morgadinho, member of the Central Committee

Swiss Labor Party (Observer)

Armand Magnin, secretary general

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee

Michael Stefanak, deputy head of the International Section

Vladimir Janku, deputy chief of the International Section

Communist Party of Turkey

A member of the Political Bureau

A member of the Central Committee

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee

V. Zagladine, alternate member of the Central Committee, first deputy chief of the International Section

O. Rachmanine, alternate member of the Central Committee, first deputy chief of the International Section

Statements by Foreign Delegations

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[Text] We publish below excerpts or summaries of some of the statements made yesterday during the first day's proceedings.

Maxime Gremetz for the PCF

In behalf of the delegation of the PCF [French Communist Party], Maxime Gremetz recalled that the French communists consider that the peoples' activism is developing within a relationship of forces that favors the forces of peace and progress; imperialism is in the throes of a profound and lasting crisis; development of the socialist countries continues; the struggles of the working classes in the capitalist countries are intensifying; and notable successes are being achieved by the national liberation movement. This is why imperialism is now on the defensive; this explains its renewed aggressiveness and at the same time the difficulties in the way of its counteroffensive. In the face of the international tensions it is generating, the peoples' concerns are understandable; the intentions of the Atlantic firebrands are dangerous. Imperialism, however, and its warlike inclinations can be muzzled and compelled to retreat, /provided the struggle for peace and disarmament is pressed with new vigor [printed in italics]/.

France can and must play a positive role in this sense: We are pressing to constrain the French government to assume that role. Mr Gremetz made reference to the PCF's May 1978 memorandum to the UN and to its October 1979 disarmament proposals, particularly the one regarding a European conference to address the issues of nuclear and conventional disarmament. He cited the debate the PCF had imposed on the government in December on the missiles issue, during which, he said, "all the other political groups had left it entirely to the first secretary of the PS [French Socialist Party] to fully justify the decisions NATO had taken." He recalled the success of the 20 December demonstration in Paris by 80,000 persons from 14 very diverse organizations including the CGT [General Confederation of Labor].

In this struggle, he said, "our objective is clear and realistic: to compel the annulment of the NATO decision on the production and installation of new American missiles in Europe or to effectively prevent their becoming operational. This, as the USSR and the socialist countries have very clearly stated, would make it possible to undertake effective negotiations on the issue of intermediate-range missiles and would open the way to a reduction of armaments as a whole, as well as to other forward steps. Any and all initiatives in this sense can count on our support." He cited in this regard the public expression of opinion brought out by the Peace Movement.

He stressed the active function the Communist Party is being specifically called upon to fulfill. By organizing action without delay at the grass-roots, together with all those men and women--of whom there are very many--who aspire passionately to peace and who want disarmament, the forces that are still hesitant today can be drawn into the action.

After pointing out that, rather than conferences like that of Berlin, we prefer "new forms of meetings that are more dynamic, simpler and more effective, enabling in-depth, open and direct discussion on this or that major problem of the hour and ending in action," Maxime Gremetz reaffirmed our conviction that this meeting will contribute to reinforcement of our struggle.

This meeting is not an end in itself, but a point of departure, opening the way to a large-scale and multi-faceted action reaching as far as Madrid, comrade Giersek's proposal for a Warsaw conference, and beyond.

Where issues as essential as are peace and disarmament are involved, co-operation and action among all the communist parties of Europe, in its historic and geographic reality, are necessary. To act otherwise is to act, we too, within a system of blocs such as we reject and fight against.

We respect the sovereign right of decision by each communist party to take part or not in a meeting such as this, and their decisions shall in no way affect our future relations.

We shall under no circumstances subject to the need for "consensus" the right of any parties to discuss and act jointly, should they wish to do so, in any way whatever. Nor do we oppose from an international standpoint any actions in the form of individual initiatives on the part of any communist parties tending toward meetings, dialog, convergence or joint actions with other major forces, for example, socialists, social democrats or of Christian persuasions.

Our communist contribution in the form of organized major forces and ideas is irreplaceable. And our conference here testifies to this, by its magnitude and by the appeal it will enact, whose constructive proposals the PCP supports.

This conference bears witness to our contribution also through the significant proposal submitted by the Communist Party of Finland, to hold, in Helsinki for example, a large-scale unitary initiative.

We heartily support such a proposal and welcome the possibility it offers--as an idea conceived in the most open spirit of quest, though in a form yet to be defined--for confronting our views and respective proposals with those of all the other forces that are prepared to work for detente, peace, disarmament, and for any forward steps, even though partial, in this direction.

Boris Ponomarev for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The delegation of the CPSU stressed first of all the pressing nature and urgency of this meeting. An extremely disquieting situation is being created in the world, in Europe. Such a development of events has made it necessary that our parties meet rapidly, without loss of time.

The decisions taken at the meeting of the NATO Council near the end of 1979 are the most dangerous action undertaken in recent times, in the following aspects:

Firstly, they are designed to assure NATO military superiority over the countries of the Warsaw Pact, thus upsetting the balance that in its time has been one of the substantive bases of detente.

Secondly, Europe will find itself involved in a new round in the arms race. The representatives of the Pentagon have nevertheless begun plowing up all of Western Europe, seeking emplacements for their new weapons.

Thirdly, the saturation of Western Europe with ever greater numbers of American weapons, and the new characteristics of these weapons, will increase Western Europe's dependence on the policies of Washington and the Pentagon. Recent events have demonstrated with sufficient eloquence the inconsistent and unpredictable behavior of the United States government, its tendency to plunge to extremes, to let itself go into hysteria, to take unexpected steps without consulting with anyone whomever, as well as its infatuation with "shows of force."

In the dangerous military and political situation that is being created in Europe, another fact demands our special attention. The role of principal shock force in NATO's "European strategy" devolves upon the FRG.

It is not enough to cite the menace Washington's strategy holds for Europe and for the entire planet. It is not enough to express regrets and concerns and to proclaim our dedication to the policy of detente. We must act. And in our actions we must show initiative, drive and consistency. In this sense, the very fact of our having met in Paris is significant.

Communists have a perfect moral right--indeed it is their duty--to call upon the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals, the unions, religious environments, women's organizations, youth and other organizations, scientists and men of arts, parliamentarians and businessmen, to deploy every effort to:

--foil NATO's dangerous plan aimed at installing new American nuclear missiles on our continent;

--prevent a new round in the arms race that could have catastrophic consequences for all of humanity;

--checkmate the attacks being made against the Helsinki agreement, which are sabotaging the entire peaceful cooperation effort between the socialist and capitalist states of Europe;

--prevent the destruction of the exchange structure built up during the 1970's in the fields of science, culture, education and sports; eliminate the obstacles to the establishment and development of confidence, understanding and friendship among peoples;

--intervene resolutely against Washington's plan to impose upon Western Europe the role of acolyte to the "world's gendarme," which contradicts the national interests of the Western Europeans and threatens to involve them in adventures remotely removed from their own homes;

--denounce the treacherous designs of the enemies of peace and of detente, and their militaristic plans; persuade the major information media to serve the cause of peace and of rapprochement among the European peoples rather than the cause of those who enrich themselves through wars and arms races.

The communists do not intend to give ground in their struggle for these objectives and others favorable to the safeguarding of peace. Their initiatives are not being directed against the proposals of other democratic forces. On the contrary, they aspire to engage in dialog with these forces, in search of ways and forms of joint action to achieve the objectives that are common to all peace-loving forces.

As regards the Soviet Union, there need be no doubt whatever that even today, in this tense and explosive situation, it will fulfill its function, that of a peace-loving power.

We wish at the same time to emphasize the point that this meeting on what must be done now, on the methods and orientations of the struggle for peace, security and cooperation in Europe, can be a timely and auspicious beginning of the collective efforts of the brotherhood of parties of all Europe!

Eekki Kivimäki for the Communist Party of Finland

We have come together here at this conference with a single point of business before us: peace and disarmament. This issue is today one of the most pressing; it is an issue that concerns all the peoples of our continent and of the entire world, indeed, the future of humanity. The great popular masses are anxiously putting the question to us communists and to all political forces having a sense of responsibility: How can peace be

guaranteed? How can the way be opened to do away with the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, toward disarmament, toward eliminating the military confrontation, toward dissolving the military blocs, toward eliminating the enormous economic burden of armaments, toward a fruitful cooperation marked by confidence among states and peoples?

The prevention of a new war, the prevention of a devastation by mass-destructive weapons has become the principal common task of the world's great peace-loving forces. What is involved are the basic human rights, the safeguarding of mankind's cultural conquests and the guarantee of progress: in sum, all human existence. (...)

In recent years, and especially in recent days, the international situation has become more acute and obstacles and barriers have been piled high on the road to international cooperation. (...)

Imperialism is being driven along the road of power politics by the crisis of the capitalist system and the pursuit of profits by the arms monopolies, by its struggle to recover its positions of power and secure its sources of raw materials and energy through the use of force, by its desire to implement a policy of subordination with regard to the newly independent states. The United States's internal crisis and the struggle to determine who will be the master of the White House clearly constitute one of the motivating factors in this political power play. (...)

In its resolution on the international situation and for detente, adopted in early January this year, our party stated:

"The imperialist forces, first and foremost the government of the United States and President Carter, who is responsible for the actions of his administration and is conducting his election campaign, and the arms monopolies and powerful major capital interests that support him and back his warlike adventures, bear the full responsibility for the poisoning of the international atmosphere."

The frantic campaigns based on lies and calumnies, directed against the communist parties and organized by the forces of imperialism and reaction, are now becoming a part of the general pattern of the international situation as well.

Imperialism's propagandists are justifying the acceleration of arms by pretending that a "Soviet threat" exists. Our party resolutely rejects such campaigns and such affirmations. (...)

NATO's increased activities in Northern Europe, such as the recent maneuvers carried out by seven NATO countries very close to Finland's border in Northern Norway, have produced widespread apprehension in Finland. We consider that the stockpiling of NATO heavy armament, practically speaking, that of the United States, in Northern Norway--in other words, the creation

there of a new military base, even though unmanned for the moment--represents a growing threat for the security of Finland as well. In this situation, the importance of President Kekkonen's initiative proposing the proclamation of a Northern denuclearized zone acquires a pressing significance. It is of the most pressing importance to begin talks rapidly on this issue between the governments of the Nordic countries and the nuclear powers (...).

Our delegation supports the adoption of the proposal being submitted by the PCF and the Polish Unified Workers Party. We think the proposal is sound and responsive to the current need.

The international situation has deteriorated, the process of detente has become more difficult, but the situation is nevertheless not such that the world finds itself at the threshold of a new war. The forces exist that can halt the negative trend and open the way to disarmament. All depends on their struggle, their activity and their ability to cooperate.

It is important that we make clear once again that we are prepared, as we have emphasized in our appeal, to dialog and to cooperate with all peace-loving forces. We place special emphasis on the fact that the communist parties and the socialist and social democratic parties of all Europe can join in common initiatives, as evidence of their sense of responsibility and of their intent to advance the cause of peace and disarmament.

Additional Foreign Delegation Statements

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[Text] It was late Tuesday morning when the delegations from the communist and workers parties of Europe concluded their debates and adopted the Appeal to the Peoples of the Countries of Europe for Peace and Disarmament.

The last working session was chaired successively by Alexandre Lilov (Communist Party of Bulgaria) and Andrzej Werblan (POUP [Polish Unified Workers Party]). The conference had been addressed by Andras Gyenes (Hungary), Michael O'Riordan (Ireland), Carlos Aboim Inglez (as published) (Portugal) and Armand Magnin (Switzerland, observer).

Thus, since Monday morning, all the delegations have spoken. A broad exchange of views was sought, the joint communique states, especially on the content of the draft appeal. This document having been adopted, the delegations voted to entrust to the POUP and the PCF [French Communist Party] the mission of communicating it to the parties that had not been represented at the conference, as well as to the interested organizations and movements that carry on their activities in Europe and internationally.

An early afternoon press conference was held in the Hotel Meridien. Surrounded by Andrzej Werblan and numerous other delegates, Maxime Gremetz presented the document to the newsmen [see text in a further item below]. Contacts between numerous delegations and newsmen continued until 1600, when the reception began that had been organized for the occasion of the conference.

Georges Marchais, who presided the reception, presented an address [see text in a further item below]. He was flanked by members of the political bureaus present in Paris, heads of delegations and numerous notables.

We publish below excerpts or summaries of some of the statements presented at the conference.

Carlos Aboim-Angles for the Portuguese Communist Party

In participating in this conference, we are moved by a deep concern over the grave dangers that are a threat to life, by the struggle of our peoples that ensues from the warlike plans and actions undertaken by imperialism recently, and by the urgent need arising from them to broaden and intensify action by the greatest of mass arrays, in Europe and throughout the world, for peace and social progress.

The end of the 1970's was marked by the development of the peoples' national and social emancipation movement, which registered notable successes in numerous countries and regions of the world, including the liberating revolution of 25 April in Portugal and the fall of other fascist regimes in Europe.

The recent actions of the most reactionary of imperialist circles appear unmistakably to be a counteroffensive designed to contain the struggle of the workers and of peoples. This counteroffensive cannot be viewed separately from another aspect that is characterizing the evolution of the international situation, which is the deepening of capitalism's general crisis.

In their efforts to come out of this crisis, the large monopolies are seeking, as always, to burden the workers and world's peoples with its cost, resolve their interimperialist problems by subjugating the small nations to the great colossi, and make a clean sweep of national independence through the medium of supranational schemes.

The struggle for peace is thus closely bound to the struggle for the defense of the vital interests of the workers and peoples, for the defense of their living standards, of their rights, of democracy and of national independence.

The action of the international communist movement as such, the entente, cooperation and joint action of the communist parties, their unity, are and will continue to be an indispensable and decisive factor for the struggle of the vastest popular masses in our countries and the world.

The present Portuguese government has participated actively, since its first tottering steps, in the imperialist campaign to exacerbate international tension, striving always to be the first to follow Carter's latest word. The latter's government of reactionary forces immediately brought democratic Portugal's cooperative orientation into question with all the other countries of Europe.

The Carneiro-Amaral government thus assumed a particularly extremist role in the international arena, acting as a foot-soldier and provocative spokesman for imperialism's most aggressive circles.

It respects neither the Helsinki agreement, to which Portugal is a signatory, nor our constitutional principles. This lowers democratic Portugal's prestige and greatly damages the interests, security and independence of our people and our country.

The Sa Carneiro government's foreign policy arouses general condemnation. It has already brought about confrontations with the president of the Republic and the Revolutionary Council. The Socialist Party has taken a distant stance with respect to its overall orientation and has even criticized several of its aspects. Our party, in the Assembly and outside it, is struggling resolutely against an orientation that seeks to again isolate Portugal, subject it completely to NATO and the EEC, and return full circle to the time of the fascist regimes of Salazar and Caetano, to the days of the cold war.

The peace movement in Portugal has taken a clear position against the installation of new missiles in Europe, for negotiations, for detente, and for the holding of the Conference of Nations in Madrid. We are convinced that the appeal to be issued by our current meeting of the communist and workers parties of Europe for peace and disarmament will find a favorable echo within the very broad peace movement in Portugal.

Jef Turf for the PCB [Belgian Communist Party] (Observer)

The PCB is represented only by observers at this conference, on which it has expressed specific reservations, both as regards the nature of the conference itself and as regards the conditions surrounding its preparation, in which too few parties took part.

The renewal of the arms race and of the cold war, the threats being directed at peace, are a source of deep concern to the PCB as they also are to public opinion in our country. It was therefore not by mere chance that Belgium was one of the two NATO member-countries that originally

insisted on a time frame prior to which it would come to no decision on the installation of Euromissiles on its territory. It was the result of a particularly broad public opinion movement in which those taking part included especially, besides the PCB, the Flemish and French-speaking socialist parties; major wings of the two Christian socialist parties; members of all parties to the governmental coalition; two community parties: the Walloon Rally and the Volksunie; the FGTB [General Federation of Labor of Belgium] and its major labor organizations; other popular forces, particularly Christian; the Provincial Council of Hainaut; etc. Tens of thousands of persons demonstrated in Brussels on 9 December.

This movement continues today, after having marked time somewhat in the weeks following the Atlantic decision of 12 December. Although the Belgian government's original deferment of its decision on the matter expires in June, Prime Minister Martens made it clear on the very first day of the ministerial crisis, 9 April, that a government such as his could not take such an important decision as the one concerning the missiles. And the Flemish Socialist Party, negotiating a new governing coalition, insisted publicly on the extension of this moratorium. It is on such an extension, which could defer the decision by another 6 months to 2 years, as in the case of the Low Countries, to enable the exploration of all possibilities of negotiation, that the antimissile movement is currently concentrating its main effort.

Today, the PCB is convinced that we stand at the threshold of a crucial decision, but that all is still possible. And in this battle, Belgium's decision is all the more crucial in that it must be closely linked to that of the FRG, where the chips are far from being down as is evident from Chancellor Schmidt's recent statements suggesting a reciprocal freeze on intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Coming as they do after the January statement indicating that an annulment of NATO's 12 December decision or a delay in its implementation would enable the USSR to engage in negotiations on the intermediate-range missiles, and following the echo that ensued, especially in Belgium, from Giersek's proposal with regard to a conference on disarmament and military detente in Europe, they provide a third reason for confidence in the possibility of winning this decisive battle for the future. This is on condition that we base our strategy on the isolation of the NATO and cold-war ultras, on the broadest-based union possible among all the forces that aspire to peace and detente. And for this, the PCB considers that we have less need for appeals than for unitary struggle and political actions.

The PCB, which has from the very beginning contributed its share to the vast antimissile movement that has developed in Belgium, is convinced that the movement has achieved its dimension because we have based the conduct of our action on two principles. On the one hand, we have not conceived of the union that must be forged against missiles as one that had to be centered around our own party but rather as a broad-based pluralistic

one. On the other hand, we have never carried on our struggle unilaterally and have never based it on a bloc viewpoint. Rejecting completely NATO's arguments representing the Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles as a necessary response to the SS 20, we have emphasized that the new American missiles must be refused to enable the dismantling of all intermediate-range missiles throughout Europe, Eastern as well as Western. And we have based this stand specifically on the words pronounced in Berlin on 6 October by Leonid Brezhnev.

This twofold approach, which in our opinion is essential for the fight we must carry on, seems to us to have been accorded too little importance in preparing for the Paris conference. It also seemed impossible to us that the communists of a country like ours could address the situation in Europe without also considering the events that, outside of Europe, are contributing to the exacerbation of the international situation and without considering the need to promote a political solution involving the renouncement of all military interventions, in the American-Iranian conflict as well as in the Afghan problem.

This is why our party decided to attend this conference solely as observers and to reserve our assessment of its results until later, and to do so in a way that shall leave no doubt as to our determination to continue our action against the cold war and against the arms race in cooperation with the forces of all persuasions for peace and progress, without letting ourselves be fenced in by the logic of the bloc policies we seek to bypass.

We want, at the same time, to reaffirm our intent to continue our relations and our bilateral and multilateral efforts at joint undertakings with all the communist parties that have taken part as well as those that have not taken part in this conference.

K. H. Schroder for the DKP [German Communist Party (FRG)]

Like all the other peoples of the nations of our continent, the people of the FRG is, with good reason, profoundly concerned with the maintenance of peace and of detente, with the maintenance of a policy of peaceful co-existence, a policy that is advantageous to all mankind. (...)

In this situation, we oppose a lunatic policy with a sound-minded one.

The sound-minded policy consists of maintaining peace.

The sound-minded policy consists first and foremost of preventing the implementation of the NATO decision concerning the production and emplacement of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The sound-minded policy consists of acting, based on the principle of equal security for all and of a military balance, to impose a reduction of military forces and weapons through the medium of negotiations.

The sound-minded policy consists of struggling against the antinational policy, bringing into question the cause of peace and security, for the continuation and consolidation of international detente, for good relations among peoples and all countries, and especially for the pursuit of normalization and improvement of relations with the Soviet Union, with the GDR and with the other socialist countries. Such a sound-minded policy responds to the security and economic interests of our country.

In this policy, we find ourselves in agreement with the most diverse forces of the peace movement.

I have spoken of the controversies in our country with special emphasis on the forces of reason. It cannot be ignored, however, that the leaderships of the CDU/CSU [expansion unknown], the SPD [expansion unknown], and the FDP [expansion unknown], although they align themselves--in different manners--with the United States, are nevertheless basically in agreement with us.

In 1978, they approved NATO's long-term program, which was designed to intensify the arms race. They exerted pressure on other countries to obtain their support of this program.

In 1979, the foreign minister undertook numerous trips to persuade the NATO member countries of Western Europe to support the NATO resolution on atomic missiles.

This was followed by the trips of Finance Minister Matthofer, early this year, to provide Turkey with reinforced weaponry through multinational financial aid.

Some of our country's ministers are constantly traveling up hill and down dale in support, through measures coordinated among the EEC and NATO member countries, of the sanctions decreed by the United States against Iran and of the boycott of the Olympic summer games.

This policy, which is owing essentially to the fact that there exist in the FRG powerful forces with hegemonic ambitions, does not serve the cause of cooperation and understanding among peoples and damages that of peace.

During the debate on armament and disarmament, Chancellor Schmidt has declared recently that the arms race between East and West could exceed a tolerable limit. We are prepared to support all the logical consequences of that declaration. However, the chancellor has not yet advanced any proposal that could serve as a real basis for effective negotiations on armaments control and steps toward disarmament. He has persisted in fronting for the interests of the United States, which wants to avoid the risks of an atomic war on its own territory, and is trying to transfer them to other countries, including the FRG.

These plans aim to impose on us a confrontation with the socialist and developing countries. They also aim to pit our people against the other peoples of Western Europe.

Despite all the affirmations to the contrary, the fact is that the United States, which has stationed 200,000 soldiers and thousands of nuclear weapons on our territory, is not a protective force for the FRG but rather a danger to its very existence. The U. S. policy is at the same time anti-European.

Andrzej Werblan for the POUP

In behalf of the party and the Polish people, the delegation of the POUP extends its cordial greetings to the PCF, to the French working class and to the French people, to whom we are linked by an old friendship and by the close ties of the present. We are deeply solidary with the French communists in their struggle for the interests of the working class and of the French people, against the attacks of which the party and its leaders are the object, on the part of reactionary circles.

To all the parties represented at our conference we address this expression of our fraternal solidarity and our gratitude for their positive attitude toward the initiative that jointly with our French comrades we have submitted in favor of military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The international situation has become more complicated and is evolving in an unfavorable if not dangerous direction, threatening to annul the positive changes and the values that have been acquired at the price of an immense effort in international life. These are inestimable values for all peoples and must be defended on all sides.

Europe has become the essential sphere of coexistence among states having different social and political systems.

The socialist countries and communist parties have the well-founded right to be gratified, because they are the promoters and the messengers of this positive process. Drawing on the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, and cognizant of the dominant social tendencies of our time, they have opened the way to detente, and have advanced and brought into reality the peaceful initiatives that have assured for them the active support of the working class and of the greatest mass of the peoples. The Polish people, our party and our country, in close cooperation with our socialist allies, have through the whole of our policy served the cause of peace, taking part in the edification of its substantive foundations, its political structure and its moral supports. Poland's relations with most of the Western European countries--including France, which makes us glad indeed--evolve in a framework of mutual benefit to all concerned. Many international initiatives and significant peace missions are directly linked with the Polish People's Republic's name.

We deeply appreciate the efforts and contributions to the cause of peace by the diverse political forces and groups, often distant from us ideologically. Detente was able to score successes because it became the joint work of all countries and peoples, of all the realistic political forces.

We remember this now as well, even though we must deal with the negative tendencies that now loom in the international situation.

Having deferred the ratification of the SALT 2 agreement, halted all progress in the negotiations on disarmament at Geneva and Vienna, sharply increased arms expenditures, adopted the decision to produce and emplace new nuclear weapons and missiles in Europe, and particularly on the territory of the FRG, the United States and the other NATO member-countries are trying to upset the existing military balance and destroy the entire peace structure in Europe.

This adverse development in the international situation must awaken the vigilance of the peoples, but there is no reason whatever to consider it irreversible.

The peoples of the world and especially of Europe are more and more conscious of the fact that the cold war and the politics of force contribute nothing to resolving any of the problems of our time, and that their consequences are solely a waste of resources and a violent escalation of the danger of a general nuclear conflict.

Actually, the communist movement is the only political movement that is operative among the peoples of our continent, in the East as well as the West. Communists are linked by proletarian internationalism, by the sense of a common historic mission. The communist parties are exercising the governmental powers in the socialist countries, they wield enormous influence in the capitalist countries, they have the strong support of the masses and a multiplicity of contacts with other political forces.

In our conference here today we are concerned above all with political ends. We are here to address ourselves, with all clarity and confidence, to all those forces on our continent that are concerned over the deterioration of the international situation, that desire to rise against it, break the vicious cycle of growing tensions and reestablish the favorable trend toward development. Such forces exist among all the classes and levels of workers, within diverse political groups, within the socialist parties, among the liberals--including the Christian movements--and among the militants concerned with the ecology and with solutions to the priority problems of civilization. We are following attentively the commitment of the Vatican and of Pope Jean-Paul II to the cause of peace and cooperation among peoples.

It is extremely urgent that all growth of armament in Europe be halted, and above all that the implementation of NATO's December decision be abandoned.

In February, the first secretary of the Central Committee of our party, comrade Edward Gierek, proposed the convening in Warsaw of a pan-European conference on military detente and disarmament, hoping to break the current impasse on disarmament. It is most gratifying to us to acknowledge the support our proposal has received from our socialist allies as among our brotherly communist parties. We wish also to cite the positive echo the idea has elicited in the public opinion and the governing circles of various Western countries...

We are deeply convinced that the vote on detente and disarmament to which our present conference is proceeding, and the expression of which will be the Appeal, will extend our base of action to all the democratic and peace-loving forces.

Further Foreign Delegation Statements

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 2 May 80 p 6

[Text] Andras Gyenes for the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party

Our party attaches a great deal of importance to this conference, which has been convened specifically because of the perturbing evolution of the international situation.

World peace and the fate of humanity are being seriously threatened in our time by the acceleration in the arms race that imperialism is stirring up, by the increasingly rapid accumulation of weapons of mass destruction and, as a result of this, by a broadening of the weaponry and techniques on which a world conflict would be based. The situation is especially complex in Europe where each new decision aimed at increasing the potential of weaponry deployments triggers a series of measures and countermeasures, since the two opposing military alliance systems must stay within close range of each other. Hence the grave dangers that lie in the Atlantic Alliance's long-term development programs and its decision to install new intermediate-range nuclear missiles in certain European countries...

Based on its own experiences, the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party is convinced, and its position is solid in this regard, that to achieve progress in the solution of the problems that affect all humanity, to facilitate effective action by our parties to this effect, to realize the union of all forces dedicated to peace, it is first of all necessary that fraternal exchanges of views such as the present one leave no doubt whatever in anyone whomsoever's mind that the position of the communists is an open one, that they are determined to show by their actions their commitment to the cause of peace and disarmament. In our opinion, this

is as much in the interests of those parties of the working class that are already in the governing power as of those that are still fighting to liquidate the power of monopolistic capital. The interest that we all have in common in participating in multilateral conferences, in exchanging views in depth, in bringing our international objectives into being, is in no way lessened by the existence of obvious differences in the respective situations and capabilities of our parties and in the means available to them for carrying out their mutually assumed tasks...

We are convinced that the actions undertaken by our parties based on the common interest do not in any way affect their independence, do not in any way weaken their freedom of action. Just as each individual party determines, fully independently, its own position on questions of international policy, it also works out in full sovereignty, in accordance with its own national conditions, the concrete steps it deems necessary and most effective under the circumstances for advancement of the cause of peace and disarmament.

The 12th congress of the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party, which was held recently, stressed that the safeguarding of peace in our time and the avoidance of a new world war constitute a decisive issue for the future of mankind. It reaffirmed that to attain the far-reaching objectives underlying our undertaking to build a socialist society, we need peace and security. This is why we consider it our most urgent task to halt the arms race that is threatening peace and burdening us with ever-increasing costs, to act for the reduction in the shortest possible time of the level of armaments, while maintaining the balance that is basic to security and restricting the means of military confrontation. To achieve this, the essential condition consists of consolidating the results obtained thus far through the SALT negotiations between the USSR and the United States, of bringing about the implementation of the SALT 2 agreement, and of commencing, on this basis, the talks on further arms limitations...

Based on the interests of our people, the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party deems it necessary to deploy many-faceted efforts to maintain the continued development of political, economic, cultural and other indispensable relations in pursuit of the policy of detente. As in years past, the Hungarian People's Republic intends to continue its perseverance in this sense in the future as well.

The actions of the communists alone will not suffice to avert the perils weighing on world peace, to consolidate international security...

It is especially important for us, in Europe, to seek out the possibilities of contacts, of joint actions, with the socialist parties, with social democrats holding important positions in government and who exercise significant influence among the masses. We are convinced that the ideological

controversies and political differences that invariably exist between the two tendencies of the workers' movement will not represent an obstacle to joint efforts in favor of peace, detente and disarmament.

We must seek dialog, we must try to act in the same sense as, or if possible to engage in joint actions with all the parties, all the religious and other organizations, all the diverse movements, that, like us, are dedicated to the cause of peace...

We must work in every possible way to mobilize the broad masses, to draw them into action in favor of peace, to prevent the return of the cold war, and to hinder armaments, as well as aggressive and militaristic plans and attempts, over the entire surface of the globe.

Stratis Tsambis for the Communist Party of Greece

We must point out the renewal of tension and of the cold war in the Balkans where the object is to develop a climate of confrontation among the Balkan peoples, as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. We must add that the cold war campaign of the imperialists has the de facto support of the Greek government: The latter has agreed to the installation of what have been called Eurostrategic missiles; it is speeding up, under pressure by the United States, the reintegration of the country in the aggressive NATO military command; it is making facilities available for the extension of American bases to that region of Europe. There exists at the same time the immediate danger that Greece will participate in or permit the use of its territory or its air space for adventurous plans against the peoples of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

This policy poses a number of threats to the independence and integrity of our country, it places in jeopardy the interests of our people and exposes our people to terrible dangers. Specifically, following Carter's adventurous undertaking in Iran, a permanent state of tension now exists in our region...

The Greek people are extremely sensitive to the cause of peace. Today, and especially since the defeat of imperialism in Iran, in Afghanistan and elsewhere, we will have to deal with the intensified activity of the imperialists, particularly in our region, who are seeking to bolster their strategic positions.

Our party has contributed to the development of a broad movement for international detente and peace, for the ratification of SALT 2, for the halting of production and installation of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe, and for the limitation and reduction of armaments, on which our little country is spending around 3 billion dollars.

In this regard, significant action has been directed toward informing and mobilizing Greek public opinion. More than 1,200,000 signatures have been collected thus far and dozens of protest demonstrations have been carried out throughout Greece. Approaches in the same sense have been made to the Greek government, the Assembly and the political parties. Almost all of the opposition parties have taken a position against the NATO decision.

A number of broadly based mass movements, like the movement for the abolition of American and NATO foreign military bases which has had a rapid development, have just recently joined the movement for international detente and peace, the movement for the total and definitive departure from Greece of the aggressive NATO, and the movement for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace. The same is true of the broad movements of solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian people, and in particular with the struggle of the people of Cyprus for a unified, independent, sovereign, uncommitted and demilitarized Cyprus.

We cannot forget, however, that national and foreign mechanisms are operating to deceive public opinion and to lull major sectors of the people into a state of "tranquility." We are of course drawing the necessary conclusions in regard to reinforcing our activity for peace and disarmament.

We are in agreement with the proposal that our conference address an appeal to the European peoples and we approve the text of the appeal that has been submitted to us.

We think the objectives for which the draft appeal invites struggle are precisely those it is now imperative to achieve. Achieving them means imposing the safeguarding of the fruits of detente specified in the final document of the Helsinki Conference. It means the continuation of steps to limit and reduce armaments, to achieve the necessary political detente through military detente, to eliminate a thermonuclear war, to relieve the workers of the burden of armaments that swell their national budgets, and to provide support to the developing countries.

We believe we can discuss and advance toward concrete proposals here to be made to other political, social and religious forces as well, with a view to undertaking joint actions on a pan-European level.

Hans Kleven for the Communist Party of Norway

We are here to discuss our common problems and common tasks in Europe. This is especially important today in a difficult and tense international situation. This conference does not preclude broader national or regional conferences for disarmament and detente. On the contrary, this conference is a prerequisite to a stronger and more active movement for peace in Europe.

in my country, the notion of peace and the movement for peace are deeply rooted traditions. When Norway became a member of NATO in 1949, it broke with the tradition and the policy of neutrality of the country before the war.

In recent years, Norway's dependence upon NATO and the United States has grown. Norway occupies a very important place in the United States's imperialistic plans. This is because of Norway's strategic geographic location. It is NATO's northern flank against the Soviet Union, a flank involving 2,650 kilometers of coastline and 200 kilometers of frontier with the Soviet Union.

Finnish Gen Pekka Jorma has rightly said that Norway is to have the role of a battering ram in NATO's strategic plans. The airdromes in the northern part of the country are very well equipped for a military offensive. A close-surveillance network has been installed, etc...

Furthermore, in this strategy, the large oil and gas reserves of the North Sea are essential for the imperialists.

When Norway joined NATO, a statement was made by the government and the parliament that "Norway will never participate in a policy having aggressive aims and will never permit its territory to be used for purposes of such a policy."

This official statement on the country's military bases policy is very important. The Communist Party of Norway emphasizes in its peace policy that whatever Norway's position and attitude may be in regard to its membership in NATO, the national interest of our people requires that this statement be made a reality. It is a determinant condition for a diminution of tension in the North.

With great misgivings, we are compelled to note the growing evidence of the existence of plans and activities that are relegating this policy to oblivion.

United States pressure is increasing. There is in existence now a program for stockpiling major quantities of American equipment in northern Norway. This equipment includes artillery, armored vehicles and helicopters, all modern. A 10,000-man brigade of American marines is to be prepared to intervene on Norwegian soil.

The United States also plans to equip ships in the vicinity of the northern flank with military equipment "to improve its striking power."

At the recent meeting of our Central Committee on 22-23 March, the Communist Party of Norway voted the following statement: "Do not destroy the statement on the bases! NO to the U.S. military plan!" We say here that

this plan contradicts the 1949 statement on the bases. It contradicts the policy of reducing tension in the northern regions, which the Norwegian authorities approve officially. To approve such a local military concentration and to permit it means that the northern regions of our country can be used as zones of departure for the military encirclement of the Soviet Union; it means also that we submit to a policy of confrontation that can have dreadful consequences for our country and our people.

Norway must say "no" to the proposed American military plan. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway demands of the Norwegian government that it hold to the declaration on the bases and that it not permit that the policy of detente be abandoned.

We are at a crossroads. The danger that threatens us is very acute. It is a matter now of our national independence and our security. We urge Norwegian initiatives for detente and disarmament in accordance with the final Helsinki document.

The Communist Party of Norway, in its struggle for peace and disarmament, has given first priority to the following responsibilities:

1. Reinforce the struggle against deployment of the undesired new missiles in Western Europe.
2. Organize a broad movement against a denial of the declaration on the bases. In relation to this, strengthen the struggle for national independence and security.
3. Support the demand for a denuclearized northern zone: the demand that was advanced by President Kekkonen.
4. Struggle for the withdrawal of Norway from NATO and for a neutrality status for the country.

The latter demand is obviously a very important and fundamentally significant one. We are no longer insisting, however, that it must have top priority, so as not to restrain the movement on the more acutely urgent demands.

Hermann Axen for the SED [German Unified Socialist Party (DRG)]

The SED congratulates the initiative of the PCF [French Communist Party] and of the POUP that has brought together the representatives of the communist and workers parties of Europe in France's capital. The current international situation renders this conference of the communist and workers parties of our continent one of urgent necessity.

At the threshold of the years 1970-1980, the international situation is growing visibly more serious. Imperialism is currently launching the largest-scale and most dangerous counterattack against the peace and security of peoples since the period of the cold war.

The fact that the Carter administration has reverted to the instrumentalities of the cold war does not however mean that the world has been thrown back into the era of the cold war. This is what the aggressive circles of monopolistic capitalism would like to do, but the course of events is not being determined by them alone nor even principally by them. Imperialism can no longer invert the international ratio of forces. It is too late now for that.

It is first of all owing to the Soviet Union's Leninist policy and its historic accomplishments of worldwide importance that socialism has the potential today to counteract effectively the expansionist intentions of imperialism and the exporting of counterrevolution, and to create the conditions most favorable to the cause of peace and of social and national liberation...

The principal cause of the current deterioration in the international situation lies in the fact that imperialism refuses to accept the new forces ratio that has been created in favor of socialism and peace, the consolidation of detente, and the advance of the forces of national and social liberation.

The exacerbation of the world situation is owing neither to an anonymous "superpower" policy nor to a "bloc logic." The truth has been revealed by the act of piracy the United States has perpetrated against Iran: had it not been for the power and the peace policy of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, imperialism would long ago have cast the world into the hell-fire of a third world war. The current deterioration derives rather from the policy of the leaders of the United States who are seeking to revive their role as the world's gendarme and the disastrous NATO system of "Atlantic solidarity" which threatens to draw its member countries into the maelstrom of a new universal confrontation and into another more dangerous round in the arms race, with unforeseeable consequences for world peace...

These facts attest the responsibility of the FRG's governing circles, which pressed actively at Brussels for adoption of the decision on the missiles. The FRG's political leaders now find themselves in the horns of a dilemma: to continue encouraging the Carter administration's confrontation policy line incurs the gravest dangers not only to the peace of Europe but also to its security, to the fundamental political and economic interests of the FRG itself.

More than ever, the future of peace depends now on the categorical rejection of imperialism's irresponsible campaign of calumnies against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the anti-imperialist movements,

and on the unveiling of its motives. To mobilize the masses for actions in the service of peace, they must first understand who it is that really threatens peace and the independence of peoples.

The countries of the socialist community advocate the maintenance of the current military balance and the reduction of its level. Forward steps in the direction of reduction of armaments and armed forces will not be possible unless the governments of the NATO member countries reconsider and abandon their destructive attitude. To this end, the most important task of the peace forces is to struggle for the annulment and halting of implementation of the Brussels decision on the missiles.

The current exacerbation of the international confrontation renders more than ever necessary a common action of the communists and of all who struggle for peace, humanity's supreme gift. The joint actions of the communist and workers parties are giving rise to new and greater potentials for a rallying of the widest circles of European public opinion. In this domain, our party has in recent years been able to accrue many useful experiences.

During the meeting of the leaders of the Socialist International, the malaise in the face of the recent exacerbation of the situation by the United States was also evident.

The desire for dialogs in the interest of safeguarding peace and pursuing the process of detente is growing among the socialist and social democratic parties.

As regards our party, we shall cooperate with all who seek to go the way of Helsinki. The Appeal that has been submitted for our consideration, and which we approve, responds to this intent. We also approve the proposal to make of this important conference the point of departure for other steps toward an understanding with all the communist and workers parties, in the interest of common action in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace.

Text of Communist Appeal

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 Apr 80 p 7

[Passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in boldface]

[Text] [Title]: /Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the Countries of Europe/

The insane acceleration of the arms race is arousing your concern.

Peoples of the countries of Europe, you have good reason to be vigilant.

The weapons of destruction and death being accumulated on or earmarked for our continent, so densely populated, are gravely imperiling our common destiny. You also know what a monstrous mess, what an intolerable misappropriation of funds they are--of funds that are indispensable to the satisfying of the daily needs and future developmental needs of the peoples and nations of Europe. You see for yourself how fatal to peace, to detente, to mutual trust and to international cooperation are the war psychosis campaigns that have been conducted recently with the aim of plunging the world into another cold war.

And now we have before us plans for the installation of new nuclear arsenals in the heart of Europe; new plans are taking shape before our very eyes to destroy the gains made under detente; before our very eyes, attacks are being mounted against agreements already made, against negotiations still in progress, against economic, cultural, sports and human relations.

The peoples of our continent have paid dearly to learn the price of a solidly based state of lasting peace, friendship and cooperation. The 35th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerism gives us pause to appreciate to what extent peace is one of the foremost of human rights, a necessary human value.

/We, all of us who are building our lives in any country of Europe, have everything to lose in the pursuit of a perilous escalation/. Let us reject even the remotest hypothesis of a devastation of this region whose considerable human and economic potentials, which are a part of mankind's heritage on earth, are necessary to humanity.

/We, whoever we may be and wherever we may live in Europe, all have everything to gain from a search for negotiated solutions to existing problems/: we have everything to gain from a reduction in armaments and armed forces, from a step forward toward disarmament conforming to the exigencies of an equal and guaranteed security for all nations and all peoples.

The forces to achieve this exist.

/We, the communists, are men dedicated to peace; we want disarmament, cooperation, and friendship among peoples. This is why we say to you: Peace is the business of all of us, and the action of all of us will cause it to triumph/.

Together:

--Let us work for the annulment of the NATO decision on the production and emplacement of new American missiles in Europe, or for the effective deferment of its implementation; and for the start of productive negotiations, based on conditions of equality and guaranteed security, on question of the intermediate-range missiles;

--Let us act for the ratification of the SALT 2 agreement in the shortest possible time and for a continuing negotiation leading to a further reduction of strategic weapons;

--Let us struggle for decisive progress in the Vienna negotiations and for the reduction of armed forces and armaments and let us support all partial steps leading to this end, including the creation of zones without nuclear weapons and guaranteed against the use of such weapons;

--Let us struggle for the convening in 1980 of the Madrid conference on European security and cooperation. Let us adopt the objective of a further advance in the application by all nations of the provisions of the Helsinki agreement, particularly by the consolidation of political detente through military detente;

--Let us work toward the convening in Warsaw of a European conference for military detente and disarmament on our continent;

--Let us demand the practical application of the decisions of the UN special session on disarmament;

--Let us militate to the end that the funds thus released be committed to development and against hunger, as the nonaligned countries are advocating. This furthers the interests of all mankind.

/Yes. The struggle for disarmament is today a matter of prime importance!/

We, the communists of all the countries of Europe, are, when it comes to struggling for peace and disarmament, ready to engage in any dialog, to reach any accommodation of views, to participate in any common actions.

/We are hopeful that all peace-loving forces will rally to this end/. Whatever may be our national origins, our persuasions, our way of life, to all, to the communists, to the socialists, to the social democrats, to Christians and to those of other religious faiths, we say: /"Peace is our common gift!"/

Emerging from this conference, we state our desire to seek the bringing about of an initiative open to all, that will facilitate the broadest possible meeting of minds and the broadest possible dialog. We are prepared to engage in talks and exchanges of views with each and everyone, under the terms and conditions most convenient to them, of the forces in Europe that have decided to act in the spirit of Helsinki and within the intent of Madrid for detente and for the opening of the way to a reduction of armaments on our continent.

/Men and women of good will, let us work together in each country and on the European scale/.

In union, the cause of progress, well-being and peace will prevail.

Paris, 29 April 1980.

Statement by Georges Marchais

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 Apr 80 p 7

[Text] I am pleased to greet all of you here who have responded to our invitation and, particularly, the participants in the Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe for Peace and Disarmament.

Role of the Communist Parties for Peace

This conference, brought about through the initiative of the POUP [Polish Unified Workers Party] and the PCF [French Communist Party], has just reached a successful conclusion, having achieved the specific and positive objective set for it by its initiators: to mobilize the contribution of the great force which the communist and workers parties of Europe represent to the high-minded and humane cause of peace and disarmament. Because the fate of detente in Europe is at one and the same time the fate of our peoples, we have considered it not only a right but our duty to make known publicly our opinion on this vital question; to address a call to the peoples of our continent to take part in the struggle for peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and friendship among peoples; and to appeal for a rallying of all the forces seeking to act toward concrete and constructive objectives in this sense.

The high-quality debate that has taken place during these 2 days has confirmed that, within the framework of full respect for the principles of absolute independence, equality and noninterference that governs our relationships, and beyond the differences and divergences that exist among us on certain questions, the communist and workers parties are capable of fulfilling a productive and innovative role in this fight for a peaceful Europe.

For our part, we have no other ambition but to be in the first ranks of a task that justifies all our efforts. We sincerely hope others will participate with the same resoluteness, the same spirit of follow-through, and that this concurrence of efforts will generate the necessary cooperation among those who, like us, want to work for detente and for cooperation.

Indeed, we will in no case oppose any initiative, be it national or international--any initiative by the communist and workers parties, any united initiative with the socialist, social democratic or Christian-oriented forces--directed toward objectives conforming to the interests of peoples.

It is this spirit that keynotes the moderate and realistic watchwords of our Appeal, which are intended to promote action over the broadest possible front in each country and on a European scale.

For an Initiative Open to all Peace-Loving Forces

This is the spirit that also underlies the proposal that in the period immediately ahead an initiative be opened to all the peace-loving and democratic forces--communist, socialist, social democratic and Christian--that favor peace and disarmament. Its objectives, its form and its terms of reference having been left open to discussion, its aim is to bring about the largest possible concurrence and the broadest possible debate, and to help prepare soundly for the forthcoming Madrid conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Each one may judge for himself the significance of a proposal such as this, conceived in total eschewal of cloisterly mentality and of partisan veto: anyone truly desirous of acting to eliminate the perils of the hour can hardly but want to contribute to its success.

Thus, therefore, as we had hoped from its inception, our conference has become the clear point of departure, the stepping stone to a unitary action that must be deployed.

We, we communists, are the militants for peace. We are its ralliers. And we have now declared ourselves prepared to examine openly all suggestions for constructive action, from whomever they may originate, provided they respond to the exigencies of the current situation.

The number is vast of those who, like ourselves, are convinced of the urgency of dealing a telling blow to the arms race, to enterprises that promote adventurism rather than the seeking of proper political solutions through negotiations, to enterprises that seek the destabilization of new regimes, that engage in boycotting--acts, all of these, aimed to bring into question the precious gains made in recent years.

To then, we say: This fight must be carried on with confidence! The conditions and the forces exist in this world--which is changing day by day for the better--to administer new defeats to those who brandish nuclear missiles for lack of the ability to respond to the great problems of national and social liberation, of development and of democracy that confront mankind. We are therefore assured of acting in the spirit of the internationalist solidarity that unites us with all the peace-loving, progressive and revolutionary forces whose actions under the most diverse forms identify our world.

A Major Combat Axis of the French Communists

This conference has been for us a source of many ideas and stimulating experiences. Its gratifying outcome will be a point of support for the further development of our own struggle in France in the cause of peace,

in the cause of our country's fulfilling, through a policy of nonalignment and of initiatives of its own, that which should be its role in the pursuit of security and of European and international cooperation.

The many constructive proposals our party has offered in this sense draw their support from the profound sentiments of the French people, sentiments that make their presence felt with a force that no responsible political leader can risk ignoring.

This was specifically attested by 80,000 Parisians in December, when they demonstrated against the NATO decision to emplace American strategic missiles in Western Europe. We fully intend to follow up on this action, which was a response to the appeal issued jointly by 14 organizations, and we shall do everything in our power to broaden its extent in the period ahead. We shall also contribute our share to other initiatives in this sense, such as the popular vote that has been proposed by the Peace Movement.

Be assured that the French communists intend more than ever to make of the struggle for peace a major axis in their battle in behalf of their working class, their people and their nation.

I ask of you, when you return to your countries this 1 May [reference here is to International Labor Day], that you convey to our comrades there our fraternal greetings and that you assure them of our internationalist solidarity.

Maxime Gremetz Press Statement

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 30 Apr 80 p 7

[Text] Maxime Gremetz, addressing the national and international press yesterday during the early afternoon, summarized the results of the conference and recalled that the original proposal to hold the conference had been made by the POUP [Polish Unified Workers Party] "at the conclusion of a broad-based consultation among the communist parties of Europe."

"I have not been asked by the parties present at this conference," he said, "to formulate in their behalf any conclusions as to its outcome. No doubt, each participant will draw his own in what is of concern to him. I have simply been asked to say emphatically that it has been a good and useful conference.

"It has provided the opportunity for a free discussion, for a broad exchange of views among the representatives of 22 communist parties. We see in it a flexible, open, effective form of cooperation among the communist parties.

"The conference has demonstrated the fit role being filled by the communist parties in the struggle for peace. Many parties have clearly emphasized their people's anxieties with regard to the international tensions being generated by the maneuverings of imperialism and marked especially by the decisions of NATO. The participants have decided to appeal to all the peoples of our continent to take resolutely in hand the necessary defense of peace so as to compel the reduction of armaments.

"They have proposed a number of objectives to be pursued in the struggle to strengthen political and military detente, to put a stop to the arms race--objectives that we are convinced all the communist parties of Europe will make their own.

"And because peace is the concern of everyone, they intend to direct all their efforts toward taking part in initiatives common to all the peace-loving and democratic forces--communist, socialist, social democratic and Christian--that seek peace and disarmament.

" It was thus that they adopted the idea advanced by the Finnish Communist Party of an initiative in the period ahead, whose form and terms of reference have yet to be defined, and that is open to all these forces in Europe, facilitating the most comprehensive conference and the broadest debate possible, in the spirit of Helsinki and of the Madrid conference.

"All these ideas are contained in the 'Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the Countries of Europe for Peace and Disarmament' that was adopted by our conference.

"The participants have agreed to give wide circulation to this document in their respective countries and to submit it to all the communist parties, to all the democratic and peace-loving forces in Europe, and to the international organizations."

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Paris LE MONDE in French 9 May 80 p 9

[Article: "Two Polls on the Presidential Election"]

[text] Two polls on the presidential election were published on Thursday, 8 May 1980, one by PARIS-MATCH and the other by SUD-OUEST.

The poll whose results may be found in PARIS-MATCH was taken by Public-SA on 18 and 19 April 1980 on the basis of a sampling of 1,000 respondents representing a cross-section of the French population over 18 years of age. It brought out the following trends assuming that the first round of the presidential balloting had taken place in April 1980: Valery Giscard d'Estaing, 39 percent (compared to 43 percent in March 1980); Francois Mitterrand, 22 percent (compared to 26 percent); Georges Marchais, 15 percent (compared to 18 percent); Jacques Chirac, 12 percent (compared to 13 percent); Mr Delarue (ecologist, whose name had not been presented to the respondents during the earlier poll), 5 percent; and Michel Debre, 3 percent. On the assumption that the PS [Socialist Party] were represented by Michel Rocard, Giscard d'Estaing polled 35 percent (compared to 38 percent in March 1980); Rocard, 29 percent (compared to 33 percent); Marchais, 14 percent (compared to 17 percent); and Chirac 13 percent (compared to 12 percent).^{*} The balloting in the runoff election would have been as follows: Giscard d'Estaing, 58 percent; Mitterrand, 42 percent (56 percent and 44 percent in March 1980); or Giscard d'Estaing, 51 percent; Rocard 49 percent (50 percent and 50 percent in March).

The public opinion poll published by SUD-OUEST was taken by SOFRES [French Opinion Polling Company] from 23 to 29 April 1980 among a sampling of 1,000 respondents representing a cross-section of the French population over 18 years of age. The results would have been as follows for the first round of the balloting: Giscard d'Estaing, 35 percent; Mitterrand, 19 percent; Marchais, 18 percent; Chirac, 15 percent; and the ecologist

^{*} An additional assumption was made in this poll as regards the first round of the balloting--that of the candidacy of Jean-Pierre Chevenement. In this case Giscard d'Estaing would have received 41 percent of the votes, Chevenement, 15 percent, Marchais, 15 percent, Delarue, 12 percent, and Chirac, 10 percent.

candidate, 5 percent. Under the other hypothesis the results would have been as follows: Giscard d'Estaing, 32.5 percent; Rocard, 25 percent; Marchais, 18 percent; Chirac, 14 percent, and the ecologist candidate, 4 percent. In the runoff election the results would have been as follows: Giscard d'Estaing, 57 percent; Mitterrand, 43 percent; or Giscard d'Estaing, 50 percent; Rocard, 50 percent.

This poll also brings out the fact that 43 percent of the respondents deemed "rather positive" their assessment of Giscard d'Estaing's performance in the preceding 6 years while 43 percent, too, deemed it as "rather negative." In April 1980 to the same question the ratio of responses was 49 percent ("rather positive") to 38 percent ("rather negative"). It is the economic and domestic policy of the head of state which is perceived as the worst. A total of 71 percent of the respondents questioned felt that his performance was "rather negative" when it came to the purchasing power of wage-earners while 74 percent made the same assessment concerning job security, 50 percent concerning the improvement of relations between the majority party and the opposition, and 58 percent concerning the reduction of social inequalities.

In contrast, 53 percent of the respondents questioned deemed this assessment to be "rather positive" as regards European unity and 52 percent made a similar evaluation regarding cooperation with developing countries. Giscard d'Estaing's "search for peace in the Middle East" was viewed favorably by 46 percent of the respondents questioned and unfavorably by 27 percent. France's policy in Africa was satisfactory to 39 percent of the respondents but unsatisfactory to 29 percent of them.

Finally, regarding "business" 48 percent of the respondents questioned supported the proposition that "there are no longer scandals as before. What are involved are plots arranged in an effort to discredit politicians in office," while 42 percent supported the alternative proposition that "there are more and more scandals and politicians in office are involved."

2662

CSO: 3100

CORSICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FLNC) TERRORIST ACTIVITY

Details of Latest Activities

Paris LE FIGARO in French May 80 pp 1, 6

[Article by Pierre Dumas: "FLNC: The Killers"]

[Text] For the first time, in the continent, since the end of the Algerian war, a terrorist organization has fired on the police with intent to kill.

A platoon of security police attacked by grenades and automatic weapons: four wounded. The attack carried out the other night on Iena Avenue, in front of the Iranian Embassy, could have been signed, in its most bloody hours, by the Baader gang or by an Italian Red Brigade commando unit. It was claimed by the FLNC, the Corsican National Liberation Front, to which is attributed both this attack and 39 attacks already committed since the beginning of the year.

This 40th "action" does not, however, mark only an escalation in comparison with the 39 others. It marks the emergence of a terrorism against persons which had spared France so far.

Six forty-five am, the first light of dawn. Each night, there were, for example, 25 members of the security police in front of 4 Iena Avenue. Across from the ocher-colored block of buildings of the Economic and Social Council, Iran had set up, in a pleasant private mansion, its Paris Embassy. The routine had stretched out for 2 years. Yesterday morning, the security police who had arrived from Chambéry only turned their heads on seeing a BMW slowly coming up. Inside were the silhouettes of two men. And then the shots.

A first burst from an automatic weapon--an 11.43--swept the bus. Fifteen hits at least. Two gendarmes, inside, were hit in the legs.

A grooved grenade exploded 3 meters away from the van, pitting the road, riddling the cars and the neighboring walls with bursts, breaking window panes and windshields.

Some more shots--smaller caliber--at the bus. And again a long burst, bringing down two gendarmes on sentry duty in front of the high railings of the Iranian Embassy. One of them, Pascal Perrin, 26 years old, married and the father of a child, was hit by one bullet in the shoulder and by another under the eye. He was hospitalized in serious condition at Val-de-Grace. His companion, like his comrades in the bus, was more lightly wounded in the legs.

The BMW with the false license plates disappeared with the echo of the last detonation. A half hour later, an anonymous correspondent, associating himself with the FLNC, claimed to the AFP responsibility for the attack. This was in no way directed against the Iranian Embassy, only against the police. "The forces of repression which daily strike the Corsican people," "The attack, still according to the anonymous correspondent, constituted a first reply to the state security court verdict punishing nationalist militants. On Tuesday evening, the court had passed 6 sentences ranging from a 3-month suspended prison sentence to 8 years' imprisonment.

At the Ministry of the Interior, as in the judicial police, no one seemed to doubt this anonymous claim. The correspondent, in the same phone call, also mentioned the bomb attack against the Law Courts.

It was the 39th FLNC-signed attack of the year. The very powerful bomb damaged the fabric of the building, causing damage estimated at a million and a half francs.

The 40th, however, denotes something other than a difference in the quantity of explosives in the charges. It represents, undoubtedly, the eruption into Corsican nationalism of a fanatic fringe which it had not known until now. Youths, probably, who, while rejecting the example of the "old" nationalists considered too soft, do not shrink from following the "example" of a foreign country.

The FLNC, in 1979, had "brought the war to the continent," increasing there the violent nights, the attacks by explosives against everything that could, in its eyes, symbolize the Jacobinism of Paris or French colonialism. But last summer still, before the state security court, 21 accused Corsicans could proclaim that they had never committed the irreparable. They had never killed or deliberately wanted to kill. And it is probably this--quite relative--moderation which brought them, in Corsica, the benevolent neutrality of one fringe of the population. The cause of these bombers, desperadoes nourishing their romanticism in the inflation of words, could, when they were presented before the state security court, stir nationalist feelings on the island. The resolutions of the legal nationalist movements and of their "historic" chiefs, such as Edmond Simeoni, sent back echoes of sympathy, all the more since the security court seemed to want to sentence the "patriots" more and more heavily these last few months.

And the, by dint of exploding, the Corsican bombs no longer aroused anyone. Corsican terrorism, even brought to the Continent, had become commonplace. Almost akin to a form of tradition, in the same way as the ballot boxes thrown into the sea the evening of the election. It did not prevent the travel agencies from filling up their vacation camps.

The deliberate action of the killers in the BMW on Iena Avenue will undoubtedly challenge the lenient or lukewarm comments. Yesterday, Christian Bonnet, minister of the interior, declared himself "indignant in the face of this cowardly act." In the coming days, the Corsican nationalists will have to come to a clearer decision on this form of blind terrorism which some, however, had a premonition about for some weeks. Precisely since 22 April and the measures taken by the Elysee on behalf of the island, after consultation with the Corsican representatives.

In reply to this broadly approved plan, the FLNC extremists had, during the night, carried out nine attacks. It was only the beginning of a radicalization of the situation, of a chaos which they claim to be necessary, and out of which will come the utopia after their hearts.

Terrorist Activity (1975-1980)

Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 May 80 p 6

[Text] 1975

22 August--Assault on the Aleria winemaking cellar occupied by the Simeoni brothers' autonomist militants. Two members of security police are killed.

27-28 August--Riots at Bastia. A member of the CRS [Republican Security Companies] is killed.

1976

4-5 May--The Corsican National Liberation Front (FLNC), a new secret movement calling for independence, claims responsibility for 18 attacks, 2 of which are at Nice and Marseilles.

22 August--Dynamiting of a winemaking cellar near Ghisonaccia.

1977

11 August--Dynamiting of television relay station at Serra-di-Pigno near Bastia.

8 September--An Air France Boeing 707 is damaged on the Ajaccio airport.

22 December--The Villepinte (Seine-Saint-Denis) railway station is partly destroyed by two explosions.

1978

14 January--Attack on the Solenzara airbase.

5 July--Thirty-four attacks in Corsica.

12 August--Dynamiting of the Ferdinand Beghin chateau at Saint-Florent.

1979

10 February--Attack in Paris against the Reuilly barracks.

27 February--Attack against the Ministry of Finance.

28 March--Bombing of the army standing court at the Reuilly barracks.

11-12 April--Eight attacks against Paris banking offices.

25 April--Attack on the Law Court.

8 May--Thirty-three attacks in Corsica.

31 May--Twenty-three explosions in Paris.

15 September--Five attacks at Lyon.

25 October--Five bombings in Paris and in the suburbs.

1980

9-10 January--A member of the CRS and two Corsicans are killed at Ajaccio after the Bastelica incidents.

15 March--Attack on the Paris City Hall.

1 April--Two explosions at Nice.

13 May--Attack against the Law Courts in Paris.

14 May--Fusillade against gendarmes in front of Iranian Embassy in Paris.

Predecessor Organizations

Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 May 80 pp 1, 6

[Article by Pierre Galleray: "Their Objective: 'Francesi Fora'"]

[Text] During the night of 4 to 5 May 1976, a series of explosions aimed mainly at public buildings, symbols of "colonialism and of French

imperialism," shook Corsica. For the first time, two attacks were made simultaneously on the Continent, at Nice and at Marseilles. The Corsican National Liberation Front was noisily making its entry into the troubled history of the island.

Since then, violence would practically never cease manifesting itself throughout the whole territory, with periods of calm cut off by brutal outbursts. Three hundred attacks in Corsica during 1976, 400 in 1979, and their number is increasing regularly, in spite of arrests and hauls. An underground movement, handling dynamite and plastic explosives, masterminded by a hard core clearly determined to use all possible means to attain independence, came to take over the nationalist and autonomist demands basically embodied by the Corsican People's Union of the Simeoni brothers, suspected of "collaboration with the enemy."

And, however, the gunpowder had already spoken, as it did yesterday, as always on this Corsican land regularly shaken by violence, on this island which is traditionally torn by feelings of abandonment, of isolation and of nationalist impulse by a wish, sometimes warped, to belong. A break, worsened by traditional clan rivalries, which divides men themselves.

The first large-scale autonomist movement, Corsican Regionalist Action (ARC), saw the light of day in 1967, founded by Max Simeoni, secretary general of the movement, and his brother Edmond Simeoni, who provided the propaganda and the dissemination of ideas for it: to champion Corsican autonomy within the French Republican framework; to reject independence in order to encourage, through a renewed regionalism, a "Corsican identity"; and to provide for the management of its own destiny.

The first demand for an internal constitution for the island appeared in 1973 at the Cateraggio congress. The "red mud" affair that same year mobilized the ARC--by then the Action for Corsican Rebirth, which would bring about the closing of the Italian Montedison factory. The temptation toward violence would soon touch it. "The ARC can offer the blood and the freedom of its militants," its officials affirmed in 1975.

And on 22 August, blood would flow at Alena: that of two gendarmes killed at the time of the assault on the winemaking cellar occupied by the ARC militants, a dramatic episode of the rivalry which had brought into conflict repatriates and natives, the latter reproaching the former for benefiting by financial and property advantages denied to them.

Militarily Organized

Imprisoned in 1975 and sentenced to 5 years in prison, two of which were suspended, Edmond Simeoni was liberated in 1977. He immediately resumed his activity on behalf of the autonomist demand and established, with his brother, also released, the Corsican People's Union (UPC) which succeeded the Corsican Patriots' Association, set up the preceding year.

The UPC claimed to be a political party of substance, with an office, a central committee, an annual general assembly, loyal militants established in voluntarily limited numbers in Corsica and in high places in the diaspora. It was developing the idea of a Corsican nation, autonomous but attached to the French community, and intended to act, in future, only in the framework of strict legality, rejecting all violence.

But this "legalism" was soon compared to treason by a small and active fringe of young Corsicans who demanded independence, obtained, if necessary, by force of arms. The romanticism of clandestine action, the return to an old "heroic" tradition personified by Pascal Paoli, it was a question of neither more nor less than "throwing the French into the sea" (Francesi fora), of struggling against all forms of "colonialism."

The "Fronte nazionale di liberazione di a Corsica," the FLNC, established in 1976, immediately resorted to mass attacks: residences of persons from the mainland or of Corsican notables suspected of "collaboration," official premises, bank headquarters, television relay stations, tourist developments, everything that represented the hated "domination" served as targets for it.

The spectacular actions intended to sensitize public opinion were increasing. In January 1978, there was the attack on the Solenzara military base, destroying two radar stations, and the dynamiting of Mr Ferdinand Beghin's property, the Fornali chateau at Saint-Florent. The attacks were stepped up before Raymond Barre's visit. A civilian security inspector lost a leg as the result of the explosion of his booby-trapped car; the vehicle of Commander Erulin, commander of the 2d REP [Foreign Paratroop Regiment] was also destroyed. During the night of 2 to 3 July 1978, 34 buildings and businesses were bombed.

The FLNC also struck in the Parisian region. The Villepinte (Seine-Saint-Denis) railway station, the Reuilly barracks, the Ministry of Finance, the Law Courts, the army court were among the bombers' targets. No deaths, but that was sometimes a miracle, as at the Bercy railway station.

Faithful to the underground tradition, the dynamiters dressed in hoods, hold mysterious press conferences in Corsica and even in Paris. Militarily organized, well structured and always rising again in spite of arrests, apparently few in number--perhaps a hundred--but very active, the FLNC militants continue their flight forward. Financially aided from abroad, by Libya, it is said. They have cut themselves off from the "notables," the "elders"; they are "children mad with anger and hatred," desperadoes of separatism, prisoners of an irrational series of acts of violence, lost in a dark night whose end is not in sight.

CORSICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT DEMANDS REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Apr 80 p 36

[Article by LE MONDE correspondent in Corsica: "The Nationalists Demand That 'Measures of Justice' Accompany Their Economic Subsidies"]

[Text] Bastia--The series of bombing attempts--perpetrated in Paris, Nice, and in Corsica and claimed to have been the work of the FLNC [National Liberation Front of Corsica]--which followed the meeting by Corsican elected officials with the head of state on Tuesday, 22 April 1980, gave rise to numerous reactions. Jean-Paul de Rocca-Serra, RPR [Rally for the Republic] deputy from Corse-du-Sud and chairman of the regional council, condemned these acts "with indignation." In his opinion "their authors cannot be identified with the immense majority of the Corsican population."

Mentioning the working meeting at the [presidential] Elysee Palace (see LE MONDE of 24 April 1980), Jean-Paul de Rocca-Serra opined that the latter had "made it possible to assert a common resolve to actively pursue progress already realized in Corsica within the framework of solidarity and national unity."

Such gratification is obviously not shared, there is no doubt about it, by nationalist circles. For the autonomist movement, the UPC [Union of the Corsican People], "the meeting of 22 April evidenced as it had predicted a strictly economic pattern, doomed to failure as was the preceding one because the settlement of specific problems cannot validly be sought except in an appropriate political solution. The systematic confirmation of freezing the status quo which no one wants any longer cannot but aggravate the presently existing climate of concern prevailing in Corsica. It is however dramatic that none of the guests at the Elysee Palace, all of them legal representatives of the island, should have mentioned the crucial problem raised by the procedures of one-way "justice" whose victims are nationalist activists and which at this time outrage even the conscience of the Corsican people."

In this connection a delegation of Corsican communist elected representatives headed by Lucien Villa, vice president of the National Assembly, handed over

to the Ministry of Justice a letter demanding the freedom of the imprisoned autonomists. "We share neither the goals nor the methods" of the accused, these elected officials explained, "but we hope for a political gesture that would create a climate of conciliation favorable to the development of democratic struggles and discussions." The communists also ask that account be taken of "the Corsican identity within the framework of national unity."

The criminal police in Bastia summoned and placed under house arrest on Wednesday, 23 April 1980, six inhabitants of Luri (Haute Corse) whose identities have not been disclosed. They are suspected of having participated in some of the bomb attacks perpetrated since the beginning of the year in the Cap Corse region.

2662

CSO: 3100

SYNOPSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS AT SOCIALIST PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Apr 80 p 12

[Article: "At the National Convention: The Internal Campaign To Choose a Candidate for the Presidential Election Will Be Thrown Open 19 October"]

[Text] In its meeting on Sunday, 27 April in Paris, the PS's [Socialist Party's] national convention decided that filing will be thrown open 19 October for "candidates to be the party nominee" in the presidential election. It is anticipated that each candidacy will be "put forward by at least one party federation." The nominating convention is to be held during the 3 months following 19 October, on a date "which might well be 14 December." A final date will be settled on by the steering committee and will depend on how domestic and international circumstances evolve.

The resolution that was adopted also specifies that from now until 19 October "any announcement that someone is running for the nomination is inappropriate." This warning is addressed particularly to Mr Jean-Pierre Chevenement after the CERES [Center for Socialist Studies, Research and Education] leader had announced that he would be a candidate himself if Mr Mitterrand were not.

The decision of the PS's national convention to set an opening date for the internal campaign within the party without making the nominating date itself specific was approved by only majority faction votes. In fact, the representatives of two minority factions unsuccessfully backed an amendment which would have provided that the nominating convention be held on 10 November.

In support of the leadership's argument, Mr Jean Poperen, a member of the national secretariat, called on the convention to "declare that the PS will not allow its decision to be dictated from outside the Party," an argument elaborated as well by Mr Paul Quiles, who warned against the candidate being chosen by public opinion. Mr Poperen specified in no

uncertain terms what this decision means: "From now until 19 October the party will be doing other things; it had better face up to economic and social realities, since most Frenchmen have other concerns besides those connected with our choosing a candidate."

It fell to Mr Mitterrand himself to explain the decision by the need to resist pressure from outside--"for quite a long time we have wanted the Socialist Party to make its way fearlessly at all costs"--as well as from inside the party. He pointed out: "It is hardly a matter of great urgency; after all, a day does not go by without something happening that is more important than naming our candidate (...)." He denounced those people for whom the presidential campaign represents "the be-all and end-all, all they ever think about" before stressing that "we will have to adapt to circumstances." Conceding the fact that many people are under the impression that the will of the majority is to wait until the three months have expired, the first secretary emphasized the possibility that "domestic political conditions may arise" which will lead to a nomination being made before 14 December. In any case, he maintained, "the selection cannot be made according to the dictates of others or of certain persons among our ranks."

Before this, Mr Michel de La Fourniere, speaking for the friends of Mr Michel Rocard, had offered the judgment that settling on a nominee in January would be "irresponsible" and that a waiting period of one month between filing and the nominating convention seemed to be "reasonable." Mr Gerard Fuchs, speaking for the same group, had emphasized the need to create the best possible campaign conditions for the nominee, whoever it might be. Several federal first secretaries belonging to the majority faction made statements to back up the leadership's argument, particularly Mr Yannick Bodin (Seine-et-Marne), who put emphasis on the need to provide the PS with a "code of conduct."

The Swing of the Pendulum

Mr Jean-Pierre Chevenement chose that moment to announce that, if Mr Mitterrand withdrew, he would himself be a candidate. The leader of the CERES faction prompted some brief but lively reactions by attacking Mr Michel Rocard in these terms: "To be socialism's candidate of hope it is not enough to 'promise very little,' to favor lining up with the United States, and to stake one's hopes of governing from the left on the present rightist majority in the National Assembly; whether or not our candidate is acceptable to rightists is not necessarily the basis for making a good socialist choice."

Mr Chevenement explained that he intended to be "the candidate of our socialist program, of everyone who voted for it without reservation, and, more particularly, of the majority at the Metz convention." He added:

"We have not dragged the SFIO [French Section of the Worker's International: French Socialist Party] from being a third wheel into the Union of the Left just to have to watch the pendulum swing back again without complaining. We cannot let ourselves watch this dream of universal brotherhood along with the flesh and blood of France, our own country, dissolve into the vast sea of multinational capitalism." The deputy from Belfort pointed out that the PS has before it a "great task," rebuilding the Union of the Left "on solid foundations and with clear ideas that do not make any concessions to what happens to be fashionable."

After other statements and some cries of rage from those present, Mr Jean-Pierre Cot condemned the "harmful atmosphere" into which, in his opinion, the PS was sinking. Making a "special appeal" to federal officials as well as the first secretary, the deputy from Savoie (who is among the closest associates of Mr Rocard) said, in no uncertain terms, "If we lose the battle of 1981, people of the Left will fall back into despair. We all will bear the responsibility for that. Our candidate must be put in a position to win the presidential election." After Mr Pierre Guidoni (CERES) had announced that since it was a matter of setting out another subject for the party's consideration there would take place a background discussion, Mr Francois Mitterrand delivered a speech whose main points appear in paragraphs of the final resolution which was approved unanimously.

The text of the resolution emphasized that it is up to the party federations and the steering committee "to organize the campaign, and in particular to set up the support committees," and to give the campaign "enough momentum to make for broad popular support in the run-off." It points out as well how, for the time being, "any declaration of candidacy for the nomination is untimely."

Reaffirming that the PS once more turns out to be "the alternative to the power of money," the resolution stresses the need for party activists to be "in the frontline" of everyday struggles and to "educate the public" about the objectives of the "socialist program." The need for party unity is reasserted as well. It included the reminder that "No one has the right to undermine it by acting on their own."

Among the other subjects brought up by Mr Mitterrand which did not appear in the final resolution, of particular note are the state of the party, the role of the first secretary, and the question of his candidacy.

On the first point, the party leader assigned the blame for the current rift to those people who "started it" right after the ballot in March 1978, namely, Mr Rocard and his friends. He was sorry not to be able to stop "this unhealthy competition, these intrigues, and this slander." "It is not healthy," he added, "to keep expanding parallel organizations which foster uncertainty and jeopardize majority decisions."

After having vigorously argued against the view that "a Party without a candidate would have no heirs for its political legacy," Mr Mitterrand stressed that he "gets special pleasure out of not being the candidate and of being the person who should not be the candidate in the minds of people who are not socialist."

"I Am Not a Candidate ..."

Regarding his role as first secretary, Mr Mitterrand "claimed his right in any circumstances to the full power to act" in this capacity. After having asked that any "overlap in function" between the candidate and the first secretary be avoided, the latter being the only one able to speak out on the party's objectives, Mr Mitterrand declared: "I am not a candidate. What does this belly-dancing mean that's going on around me? What do those persons mean who say they are putting themselves forward if I don't? The first secretary is the person who has the authority to represent the party on an ongoing basis. I have never written anything which authorizes anyone to take cover behind my name to keep theirs out of view. I say this to those who love me as well as those who do not love me well enough."

Among the priority jobs of the first secretary is the need to preserve the unity of the PS. "I will protect it with all my might," he declared, before adding, "Once the candidate is designated, I will join forces with him." Remarking that a kind of uneasiness was being felt that the candidate might find himself in the impossible situation of having to "get over feelings of mistrust that are being kept alive," Mr Mitterrand asserted: "Too much infighting would make it impossible to give the candidacy the proper spirit of momentum. I will not under any circumstances join a competition in which backstabbing is already underway."

Mentioning then that his job as first secretary "comes before anything else," he stressed that "The people who brought about Epinay will not give up on it ... What will socialism be all about if the party loses its way, even if it has captured the Presidency?"

Mr Mitterrand then devoted himself to showing that he is trying to get more people interested in the PS and that the attitude of other leftist parties compels the PS for starters to scramble for even socialist votes. In these circumstances the "least sign of hesitation regarding the socialist program is a serious blow to the party's and the candidate's chances." He once again condemned the attitude of the PCF as being guilty of both isolating the PS and of putting into practice a "philosophy of deceit." He condemned "Mr Marchais's brand of collusion which would rather see the Right in power than play an appropriate part in a unified Left which from now on is being organized around the PS."

The first secretary concluded by insisting that he will not be "the one who will make the selection process more difficult in any way" and that he "stands for rallying workers and Frenchmen around socialism."

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS, TERRITORIES

Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Article by newsmen Jean-Philippe Riviere: "The Choice"]

[Text] To the question of a Paris weekly, "autonomy or independence?" Aime Cesaire, deputy, mayor of Fort-de-France [Martinique], answered recently: "This is a spurious problem, for sooner or later Martinique will be independent." Less than 15 days later Olivier Stirn, secretary of state to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the context of an official visit to Havana, discussed with the Cuban authorities the political situation prevailing in the French overseas departments [DOM] of the Caribbean.

One should not be misled: As trivial as they may seem these facts are important and call for two comments. The first is that even if Aime Cesaire conceded in the interview mentioned that between the existing status of the DOM and independence an intermediate period of autonomy within the framework of the French Republic might prove to be necessary, he now took a clearly independence-oriented position. The second is that for the first time, it seems, a member of the French Government discussed with a foreign government the internal situation of a French overseas department.

That these facts should be unable to change right away the economic, social, political, or cultural situations of the DOM and TOM [French overseas territories] or the nature of the bonds linking them to metropolitan France is evident there. They have to be given at least credit for recalling that in overseas France nothing is definitive. One example--and it should not be forgotten that such examples are legion--occurred in 1975, very specifically in what used to be designated geographically as the "French Territory of the Afars and Issas" [now Republic of Djibouti]. Before a few newsmen a young secretary of state just out of the Rue Oudinot [Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories] explained in essence: "If the population of this French overseas territory were asked to decide on its future I am sure that the overwhelming majority would seek to remain French." Two years later the inhabitants of this former TOM in fact opted for independence.

To be sure, the Djibouti of 1975 is not the French Guiana or the Reunion of 1980 any more than the existing economic and political situation of Saint

Pierre and Miquelon is that of New Caledonia. That, too, is a matter of fact. Yet, there is something common among the final remaining possessions--or crumbs or confetti, whichever way one wants to put it--of overseas France. And this is true independently of their present status: DOM for Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion, Saint Pierre and Miquelon; TOM for New Caledonia, Polynesia, Wallis, and Futuna; and "territorial collectivity of the French Republic" for Mayotte [Comoros]. There is at least in common in these territories the fact that despite the most formal assertions about their French character--"forever," it is held officially--all political discussion centers on their status.

Logic of Gaullist Policy

Successive Gaullist governments were not deceived about it when they specifically gave the political discussion overseas the unhealthy label that is known. Even if this is simplifying things a little, Gaullist policy had its own logic: To choose the UDR (Union of Democrats for the Republic (Gaullist party)) was to choose French and therefore to criticize the UDR was--in all logic--to place oneself in the anti-France camp. Bernard Stasi, former minister of overseas departments and territories, little given to extremist statements, confided last year to the QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION that when he was appointed minister of French overseas departments and territories there was a period of illusion when he believed that he could exercise his prerogatives, but in very short order, he added "I ran into a clan and a network: Overseas France was the superstate of the UDR." After the advent to power in France of the RPR-UDF [Rally for the Republic-French Democratic Union] majority, it became necessary to recognize that if, here and there, the general staffs of the UDF in Guiana, Martinique, or Reunion can be gratified at having placed some obstacles in the way of the Gaullist barons, the basic problem--what is the future of the DOM and the TOM?--has not changed.

Lacking coherent and clear policy it is possible to note that the UDF has approached the problems of the DOM and TOM differently. While the formula "of dancers costing France a lot" is surprisingly--but is it so surprising as all that in a pre-electoral period?--not voiced by anybody today in Paris, at least it had the merit of suggesting that since the DOM and the TOM were not "beneficial" to France, the logical conclusion of their independence had to be drawn. If one goes by the official speeches, overseas France must be open to the natural environment that is its own (the Caribbean for the French overseas departments of that region, the Indian Ocean for Reunion, and the Pacific Ocean for the French overseas territories).

The purpose is laudable but in the present state of affairs who can put an end to the "colonial past" and to the "privileges which nothing justifies?" Neither the territorial assemblies of Noumes and Papeete nor the general councils of Cayenne, Fort-de-France, or Saint Denis de la Reunion, and even less the cohort of officials "who have served their time" in Indochina, Madagascar, or Senegal knowing without ever daring to admit it that DOM and TOM are tantamount to bonuses, official leave, and CFP [?French Colonies

of the Pacific] francs. Who then can put an end to these outdated privileges and to those who represent so well the fortune of a few business monopolies and a few lobbies of the import-export sector if not the government itself? Recent events have proved that less time was necessary to send two platoons of gendarmes from Paris to Fort-de-France to enable a secretary of state to assert that "order is restored in Martinique" then to cancel the fraudulent election of a senator of the majority in Reunion.

Yet--and this is not the least of the paradoxes between 1973 and now--the Gross National Product of Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, and Reunion rose twofold (nearly 7 billion French francs for Reunion and nearly 6 billion French francs for Martinique). New roads, hospitals, public schools, and private secondary schools--the comparison of benefits gives the edge to the DOM and TOM over the neighboring independent islands or archipelagos. The point is conceded and no denies it. The obverse of the medal--since there is one--is that to quote the expression of Aime Cesaire "departmentalization has killed Martinique's production and is in the process of killing the soul of Martinique by valifying it." Unfortunately, this evaluation is true for all overseas France. Each year some 320 million French francs are needed for import of foodstuffs alone into Guadeloupe, 370 million for Martinique, and 420 million for the same purpose in Reunion.

Strategic Interest

The matter is serious when it is known on one hand that the totality of Guadeloupe's exports are close to 500 million French francs, those of Martinique, 570 million French francs, and those of Reunion, 550 million French francs, and furthermore that these foodstuffs could be produced locally. However, the circle is a vicious one, for while the various subsidies and allocations represent wage supplements in France, in overseas France--considering the poverty of tens upon tens of thousands of homes--they represent the unique source of income. Assist, assist, it is said overseas. Something will still remain at the bottom of the barrel. And the more people will seek, against the very nature of things, to integrate overseas France in the French entity, the more the policy of assistance will stifle production. That was not the desire of the partisans of departmentalization in 1946, yet this is in fact the result today.

The unavowed interest of Paris for its last remaining possessions overseas is first strategic. It is generally not well known in France that while the Hexagon [metropolitan France] has an economic area of 340,290 square km (the economic zone at sea is 200 nautical miles beyond the French coastline), France's DOM and TOM endow it with an economic zone of 9,922,810 square km. Even if in the present state of the French economy a genuine maritime policy is not to materialize soon, this fact enables France to be the third potential maritime power.

In this very newspaper, under the title "Twenty Years of African Independences--The Children of Ambiguities" (LE MONDE of 1 April 1980), Gilbert Comte recalled how false is the image of a France generous to have assisted without

constraints the total emancipation of its former subjects. The difficult--and incomplete--decolonization of the archipelago of the Comoros, begun in 1975 by Ahmed Abdallah who was obliged to declare unilateral independence because there was according to him "reneging on its commitment" on the part of Paris, illustrates this fact very well.

When one sees an elected member of the majority party--or undoubtedly worse still, a member of the government--revolt and be ready to go to war because at a summit meeting of nonaligned nations the colonial status of Martinique, Guadeloupe, or French Guiana is denounced, or because at the time of the summit of the Organization of African States one--or several--African heads of state calls for the decolonization of Reunion, because the government of Papua New Guinea manifests its solidarity with the pro-independence members of New Caledonia or Polynesia, one can honestly wonder whether the most attractive sequel to the colonial past is not located somewhere in the Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories.

To believe that Paris is capable of adjusting to an autonomy status for its DOM and TOM is to know badly the machinery of the French Government, inclined toward extensive centralization. The choice seems to be between the acceptance of integration with its vices destroying everything that overseas France has by way of what is original ranging from production to cultural demonstrations and the search for responsibility with its obligations. The road is long perhaps between the Aime Cesaire of 1946 strongly calling for departmentalization for the sake of equal rights and the Aime Cesaire of 1980 viewing independence as an unavoidable outcome. However, the same is true for the moderate Roch Pidjot of Noumes of the 1970's and today's Roch Pidjot as leader of the Independence Front of New Caledonia. Does history mandate another choice on the 1.6 million inhabitants of overseas France?

2662

CSO: 3100

SOCIALISTS CRITICIZE GISCARDIAN POLICY ON OVERSEAS TERRITORIES

Paris LE MATIN in French 14 Apr 80 p 13

[Article by Paul Quiles, deputy from Paris and national secretary of the Socialist Party: "French Antilles--Giscard d'Estaing's Method"]

[Text] "It is necessary that the comments and attitudes sadly reminiscent of the colonial period cease," Paul Quiles, national secretary of the PS [Socialist Party], back from a week's trip to Martinique and Guadeloupe, wrote. Quoting various declarations by Paul Dijoud, secretary of state to the Ministry of Interior in charge of French Overseas Departments and Territories [Dom and TOM], who has also just visited the Antilles, the Socialist Party leader warned against "the vicious circle" into which "Giscard's method" locks the French Antilles.

After a week spent in Martinique and Guadeloupe during which I was able to meet many Antillans, trade unionists, elected representatives, political leaders, or simple citizens, I would like to share with you some thoughts which this visit inspired in me.

I shall say first of all that if one wished to know the true nature of the Giscardian system it is necessary to go to Martinique or Guadeloupe. Its characteristics appear there with much more clarity, at times even in caricature. Let us take a few examples:

Centralization. More than elsewhere centralization is embodied here by the prefect who, in his white uniform recalling the colonial period, has an overwhelming impact on local life. A veritable proconsul, this representative of the central government has much more extensive power than in metropolitan France. A statement by Paul Dijoud on Radio Caraibes [Radio Caribbean] on his arrival in Guadeloupe on 9 April 1980 sums up this situation well: "The prefect has good control of his [overseas] department." Elected officials of the right, the majority in both [overseas] departments, complacently accept this state of affairs. Admittedly, still according to

the secretary of state for the DOM-TOM, the elected officials are the prefect's "fellow team-members."

Scorn for the population. The famous statement of Paul Dijiud promising to make the inhabitants progress "by kicks in their rear ends" generated considerable excitement. Through these abusive comments the inhabitants of the Antilles perceived a return to the mentality of a colonial era which was supposed to be in the past.

The scorn for the population has also evidenced itself with the establishment and then the hasty scraping of "summer time." Discussion with the people's representatives would have prevented the public authorities from slipping into ridicule in this manner. They would have learned there is no "summer" in the tropics where the sun rises and sets roughly at the same time throughout the year.

The expected savings in energy would thus not occur. In contrast, this arbitrary decision would, had it not been rescinded, have caused an undeniable disruption among a sizable portion of the population whose lifestyle and working habits are linked to sun time.

Impact of capitalist interests. The government is speaking of "development plans," "priority measures," and "improvement plans," but these lofty promises--the same ones made for the past 20 years--in practice do not stand up to the resolve of the capitalist interests to maintain the economy of the two islands under their control. The land belongs for the most part to a few large landowners whose only concern is to increase their profits even if it means speculating by relinquishing the traditional crops.

As for industry, it is in the process of disappearing to the greater joy of importers who have become the great economic force of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

Elections. In the shrewd categorization of the electorate made by candidate Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in view of the next presidential election (the young, the aged, cadres, widows, and so on), overseas departments occupy a choice place.

The argument developed by the Giscadians to mobilize this "pool of votes," precious in case of a close contest, involves three points: (1) Only two choices are available--the present policy of the government, dubbed departmentalist, or independence. (2) This latter alternative leads to adventurism (it is true that some experiences of neighboring islands in the Antilles could confirm this thesis). (3) Reasonable people who care for French social "benefits" must therefore vote for the government. That is how when the European elections were held--and it cannot be said that they generated immense enthusiasm in the Antilles, located as they are 7,000 km from Europe--the most often used argument in favor of Simone Veil former French minister of health and family [as president of the European Parliament], was "vote for the lady who increased your family allowances!"

In application of this doctrine, all those opposed to government policy are classified as "separatists." This is a simplistic but rewarding argument which obviates the need to engage in fundamental discussion.

Frenchmen and Antillans. If most Guadeloupans and Martinicans wish to remain French citizens it is natural that they should seek to benefit from the rights which go with their membership in this community. It is first necessary that their dignity be respected and that those comments and attitudes sadly reminiscent of the colonial era cease. Furthermore it is not acceptable that French social welfare laws should not be applied in the DOM: Floor of the Interoccupational Minimum Growth Wage, unemployment compensation, and various allowances. Finally, it becomes urgent to implement an economic development plan seeking the reactivation of agriculture and small industry in order to fight unemployment and halt the drain caused by departures to metropolitan France.

But Martinicans and Guadeloupans are also Antillans wishing to see their culture rooted in their history, their traditions, their way of life, and their importance appreciated in ways other than through folklore. It was seen, through the goof in establishing "summer time," how the government acted in this respect.

One finds the same attitude in the field of education where the specific nature of the Antilles is totally gummed up in the definition of the methods and means used. This "right to be different" should be able to express itself fully through decentralized structures, which is what the Socialist Party is seeking in a bill introduced by deputies but which the government so far has refused to discuss in parliament. Under it the prefect's position would be eliminated and the executive power entrusted to a departmental assembly elected by universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation. Through these provisions as well as through the powers entrusted to this assembly Martinicans and Guadeloupans could truly handle the administration of their local affairs within the context of a freely discussed future thus giving its full meaning to the goal of the Socialists to allow "the country to live, work, and decide."

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CSO: 3100

NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN 1990 FUEL SOURCE PROJECTIONS

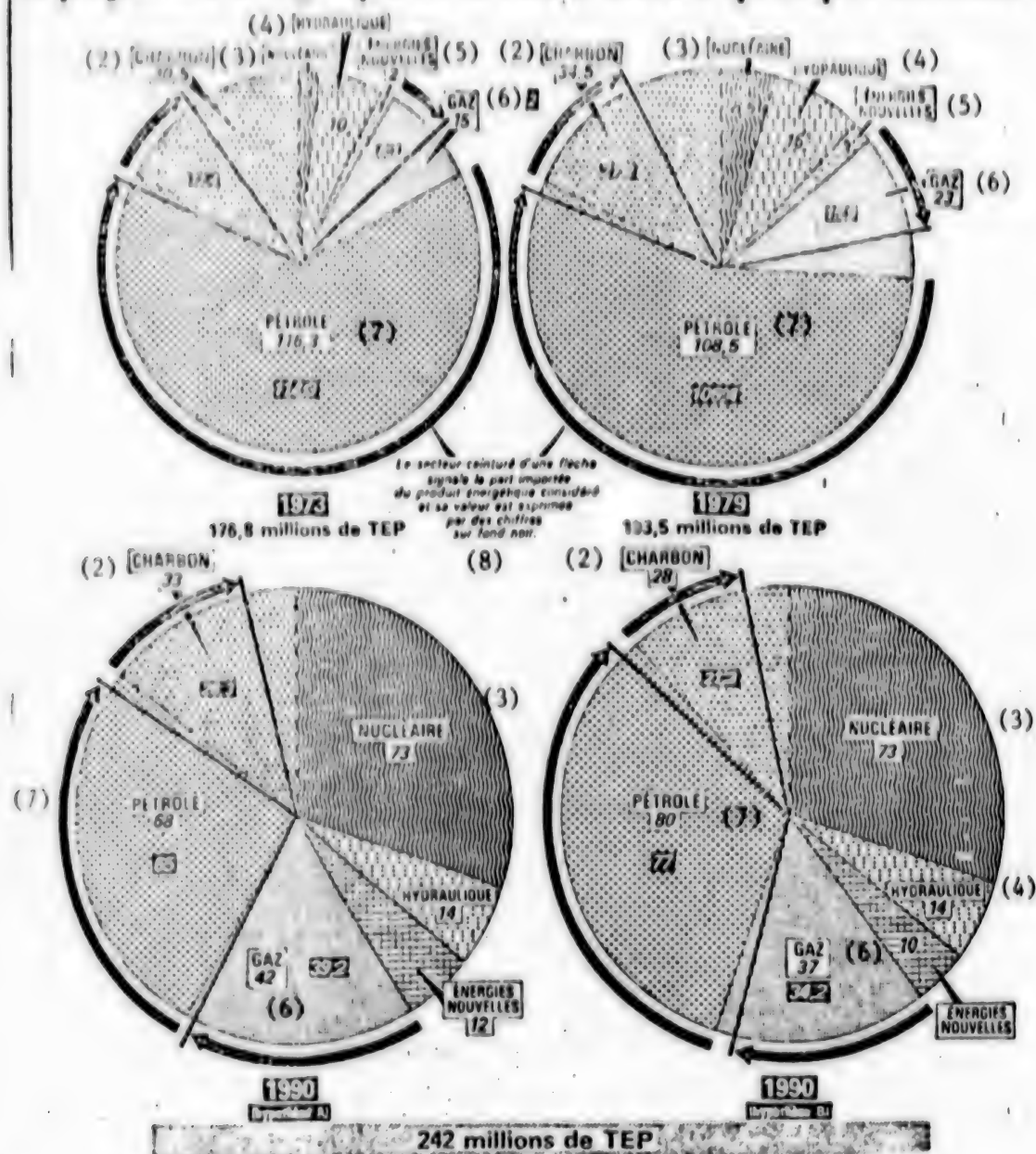
Paris LE MONDE in French 11-12 May 80 p 15

[Text] Defined by the central planning council meeting of March 27, then adopted by the Cabinet on April 2, the new energy orientations of France are, to say the least, ambitious. Petroleum, which represented two thirds of the national energy consumption in 1973, should represent less than a third in 1990. Such a choice most certainly is due to the strong development of nuclear power, which assumes that no incident will interfere with the construction program of nuclear powerplants. The international coal trade must also respond to France's wishes, since the national production will only amount to 10 million tons in 1990. The consumption of imported natural gas is also presumed to increase, which, in these first months of 1980, can seem doubtful, as the demands of the producing countries seem extremely hard to meet. Finally, the energy economies must triple.

(1) The government hypotheses are based on an average increase of 3,5 percent per year of interior crude production (PIB) in the course of this decade. The hypotheses A and B vary according to the possibilities of replacing petroleum with other energies (mainly coal and natural gas). However, the governmental objectives for petroleum, in one case (28 percent) as in the other (33 percent), are to reduce the crude to more than half over the next 15 years, within the total amount of energy in France. The experts of the energy commission of the VIIIe Plan recommend bringing the consumption of petroleum down to 40 percent by 1990.

(2) The government considers the production of kilowatt-hours in the nuclear powerplants as "the national production of primary energy." However, the amount of uranium that is imported will increase. In 1973, France imported 1700 tons of uranium, in 1979, 4700 tons. In 1990, the imports should reach 6000 to 7000 tons.

(1) Le programme énergétique de la France n'est-il qu'un pari audacieux ?



Key:

- (1) Is France's energy program a daring gamble?
- (2) Coal
- (3) Nuclear power
- (4) Hydraulic power
- (5) New energy sources
- (6) Natural gas
- (7) Petroleum
- (8) The sector that has been circled with an arrow indicates the imported amount of energy product and its value is indicated by the number on black background.

REPORT ON NEW 10-YEAR RESEARCH PROGRAM

Paris LE MONDE in French 10 May 80 p 16

[Report by Xavier Weeger]

[Text] In very many disciplines, researchers need large items of equipment: particle accelerators for physicists, telescopes for astronomers, ships for oceanographers.

The decision to build large-scale equipment is encountering many difficulties, which are the motivation for multiannual planning. To begin with, programs that are often very costly are involved (up to several hundred million francs), and their completion may take several years. These two points make it essential to be able to work outside the conventional limits of the annual budgets of the research organizations.

In addition, the "great machines" of research increasingly call for a multinational (for reasons of cost) and multidisciplinary framework. To take just one example, particle accelerators have not, for several years now, been the exclusive domain of physicists: biologists in particular are using them more and more. And the advantage, for analysis purposes, of using "synchrotron radiation" will be the justification for the construction of new physics apparatus very largely intended for non-physicists.

The necessity of multinational planning was recognized by the authorities, which under the "10-year research program" now in preparation requested a working group under the chairmanship of Jean Teillac, high commissioner for atomic energy, to study the question.

In a report completed last February, the working group, which brought together, in particular, representatives of the research organizations, therefore identified the principal large-scale equipment that will have to be built before the end of the eighties, and estimated the financing needed. On the latter point, the working group notes that in 1981

authorized program expenditures needed for major equipment would have to increase to 816.5 million francs (+ 10.7 percent), compared to 737.7 million in 1980 *.

From 1976 to 1980, the report shows, the major equipment situation constantly degenerated because the amount of authorized program funding declined: 876.6 million francs in 1976 (or 28 percent of authorized program funding of the "research umbrella"); 810.3 million in 1977 (26.2 percent); 779.2 million in 1978 (26.1 percent); 749.2 million in 1979 (24.2 percent); 737.7 million in 1980 (24.0 percent).

After the large amount of growth needed in 1981, the authors of the report believe, growth will again be required for 1982, though slightly less (7.8 percent): the level then reached (890 million francs a year) should, so far as the needs of scientists are concerned, be adequate for the subsequent years. In three years, the effort devoted to major equipment should, therefore, have been increased by over 20 percent.

Sixteen Principal Projects

The working group identified the 16 principal projects which are expected to dominate the decade of 1980-1990. Some are already in progress, others are planned: a small number have still not been definitely decided upon. The full list is given below:

1: LEP [Electronics and Applied Physics Laboratory] Project: this concerns the next machine intended for equipping the European Council for Nuclear Research (ECNR) in Geneva. It is an electron-positron collision ring in energy ranges on the order of 100 GEV (giga-electrons-volts) (LE MONDE 27 June 1979). The decision to found the LEP should be made in 1981. France's contribution to the ECNR budget is expected to be increased, by comparison with the present level, by about 5 million francs in 1982, 10 million in 1983, and 20 million in subsequent years. The purchase of land and development of roads on the site will also be at France's expense, for a total amount not yet estimated.

2: The European Space Agency (ESA)'s Scientific Program: France's participation in this program is expected to increase from 111 million francs in 1980 to 120 million in 1981 and subsequent years. The ESA's next scientific missions are the astronomy satellite Exosat in 1981, and then the SLED mission (a space sled permitting study of the internal human year), the space telescope, and the international polar solar mission, in collaboration with NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Agency] **

*All totals estimated in 1980 francs

**As proposed by the White House, this project might be delayed for 2 years, for budgetary reasons. However, no decision has yet been made.

3: GANIL, the Great National Heavy Ion Accelerator, now under construction at Caen. In all, 91 million francs are still needed in 1981 and 1982 (total cost: 476 million). Equipment development will require, until the end of the eighties, an average annual financing of 13 million francs.

4: ORPHEE, a nuclear reactor now being completed at Saclay, intended to function as a neutron source. Its total cost is estimated at 258 million francs. Equipment of the reactor requires a budget of 3 to 4 million francs a year.

5: TORE-SUPRA, TOKAMAK [expansion unknown] for the study of nuclear fusion, functioning by means of supra-conductor magnets (LE MONDE 12 March 1980). The decision to build this machine, expected to cost 265 million francs (including about 108 million assumed by Euratom) to be financed between 1981 and 1985 (plus 70 million francs for installation and transfer of equipment to Cadarache) is expected to be made this year. "Installation of Cadarache," the report notes, "would make it possible to start the future thermonuclear fusion program on a very appropriate site and perhaps to attract the next big Europe-wide project." An annual budget of 5 million francs will be needed during the development phase.

6: THEMIS, a thermodynamic solar power station, under construction at Targassone (Pyrenees-Orientales). Its total cost, already funded, will be about 105 million francs (including 60 million charged to EDF [French Electric Company], plus 14 million for the site, assumed by the region. An annual budget of 7 million will be needed for additional equipment. An extension of the reflector field, which could be accomplished in 1986-88 (Super-THEMIS) is estimated at 60 million.

7: ESRF (European Synchrotron Radiation Facility): this is a European project for an electron storage ring for use in synchrotron radiation (light emitted by electrons being made to spin), being studied under the European Science Foundation. The total cost is estimated at 500 million francs, of which 120 million are expected to be assumed by France between 1983 and 1987. The decision is expected to be made in 1982.

8: IMRAN (Institute for Millimetric Radioastronomy), realized by France and Federal Germany, and which will include, on the Bure plateau in the Alps, a large interferometer. The French share amounts to 112.5 million francs, of which 85 remain to be financed between 1981 and 1986.

9: Large ships: refitting the "Charcot" belonging to the National Center for Ocean Development (18 million francs, to be financed in 1981), and modernizing the "Thalassa" of the Scientific and Technical Institute for Ocean Fishing (5 million francs) will soon be necessary. An 80-meter vessel is to be built in 1985-1986 to replace the "Thalassa" (80 million francs), and a new deep-sea oceanographic vessel at the end of the decade, to replace the "Coriolis" (80 million francs).

10: SPACELAB: France's participation in future missions of the European Space Laboratory could be 15 to 20 percent. The amounts expected are 64 million francs in 1981, 70 in 1982, 75 in 1983-1984, and 80 million in subsequent years.

11: VENERA, French-Soviet Venus exploration program. The first experiment is to be completed in 1984, amounting to 170 million francs between 1978 and 1984 (of which 119 remain to be funded). A second experiment, not yet decided upon, would cost 115 million francs between 1985 and 1990.

12: SATURNE: Saclay particle accelerator, which was renovated from 1974 to 1978 at a cost of 69.2 million francs. More equipment will be needed, in annual amounts of 4 to 6 million francs.

13: Renovation of the Laue-Langevin Institute at Grenoble. This is a high neutron flow reactor supported in equal shares by France, Federal Germany, and Great Britain. The cost of modernizing it is estimated at 139 million francs. Thirty-eight million francs must be funded by France between 1980 and 1985.

14: The INRA (National Institute for Agronomic Research) Porcine Station, now being completed, will have cost 49.1 million francs; 7 million will be needed in the 1981 budget.

15: PREBUS, a very high-power laser installation (50 terawatts), which might be built by the military applications office of the Atomic Energy Commission for a total cost of 300 million francs. The "research-umbrella" might participate in this project in the amount of 10 percent, or 30 million to be financed between 1982 and 1985.

16: JET (Joint European Torus) a TOKOMAK for the study of nuclear fusion, under construction at Culham (Great Britain). The total cost is 260 million European currency units (about 1,560 million francs) including 80 percent at the expense of the European community. The French share (2.4 percent of the total) amounts to about 7 million francs a year from now until 1983.

Before making an analysis of the other big projects by research organizations, followed by an overall analysis by broad scientific sectors, the report gives a rough estimate of the needs of research in data processing: investments are expected to amount to about 80 million francs a year for the coming years. The total cost of computation for research is estimated at roughly 420 million francs a year between now and 1986. It should be noted, in particular, that the acquisition of a CRAY-1 computer (this is currently the most powerful computer in the world) is envisaged for 1984 (30 million francs over five years on lend-lease). It might be installed at Toulouse, and would be used, from the start, up to 70 percent by the meteorology services.

12149

CSO: 3100

SOLUTION OF DISPUTE WITH TURKEY POSSIBLE THROUGH DIALOGUE, RALLIS SAYS

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 28 May 80 p 9

[Interview with Premier G. Rallis by Foreign Correspondents]

[Text] Premier G. Rallis held a press conference yesterday with representatives of the foreign press, the international press agencies and the foreign radio and television networks. The text of the interview is as follows [some foreign names transliterated]:

M. MONDIANO (LONDON TIMES): Mr. Premier, in view of the existing difficulties concerning Greece's reentry into NATO, by any chance did the government itself raise or did anyone suggest to it the possibility of securing the defense of Greece on the basis of a bilateral agreement either with NATO or the United States which would guarantee the territorial integrity of the country?

ANSWER: Our proposals to NATO are those known under the name "Haig-Davos Agreement" and we insist on them. We believe that this is the best solution for NATO, for the whole Eastern Mediterranean area and for us. It ensures both the independence and the territorial integrity of Greece as well as the objectives of the alliance.

N. TZALAS (Reuter): My question is a continuation of the previous one. Following the agreement deadlock, or rather the nonagreement, was a new proposal submitted as a follow-up to the Haig-Davos proposal?

ANSWER: To this time no such proposal has been submitted nor have we been advised that it is forthcoming.

P. DYREL (French Press Agency): On the same subject, I understand there is a new proposal, a new formula on the question of the agreement.

ANSWER: There is no new proposal. There was a counter-proposal which was submitted to the Greek government 2-3 months ago. But it was rejected and consequently no new proposal exists.

P. DYREL (French Press Agency): Do you know or are you aware that a new proposal is being prepared in Washington?

ANSWER: No. I have said that no [new proposal] has been submitted nor do we have information that a new one will be submitted. Perhaps a new proposal is being prepared but we have no knowledge of it.

O. DIPKEN (German Press Agency): Since the subject is a mute point, what will be the next steps the Greek government is planning to take for ensuring Greece's security?

ANSWER: The next move does not depend on us. It depends on NATO.

Question of Bases

P. MELLAS (NEWSWEEK): Mr. Premier, since there is a great delay concerning Greece's reentry into the NATO military structure as a result of the veto Turkey continually advances, can it be that in view of this impasse the Greek government is thinking of settling the status of the American bases in such a way that will provide our country with the guarantees for security?

ANSWER: We have not looked into this possibility and, as you know, this is a problem which would require many legal procedures. It needs approval by the Congress, by the Greek Chamber of Deputies. In any case, we have not looked into this possibility until now.

K. TSATSARONIS (DER SPIEGEL): Mr. Premier, responding to your statements on the platform of your government, Turkish Premier Demirel on the one hand appears to have misunderstood what you have said about a war as an alternative solution to the negotiations, and on the other hand he stated positions which in a way exclude the conducting of negotiations. What do you have to say about this?

ANSWER: Since the matter is very sensitive and since I expected that such a question would be submitted--I am surprised it came as sixth and not the first question--I have prepared a statement which I will read to you. It has been translated into English also, and you can get [the copies] at the end of the interview. The statement is as follows:

"I wished Mr. Demirel had read more carefully and with more good will not only my policy statement but also the interpolations which both myself and the foreign minister made in the Chamber of Deputies. Had he paid more attention to them he would have ascertained that we had declared clearly and unreservedly our adherence to the peaceful procedures of the dialogue based on international law because we believe that the alternative course, the course of violence, must be excluded.

"I fear, however, that we entertain different concepts of what negotiation means. The Turkish premier does not agree with our views on the islands,

the air space, etc. and declares that 'this blocks the way to negotiation.' But if we had sided with his views from the very beginning then the dialogue would, of course, be superfluous.

"For us a dialogue means a frank, honest and rational effort to find common ground in the disputes between the two countries. And, if this effort proves unattainable, then we should follow an international peaceful procedure which would lead to a solution in conformity with international law and international practice. If the Turkish government shares this point of view, it will find us willing to proceed jointly along this road."

E. AKRITAS (NEA of Cyprus): Even though your answers have been thorough and positive on the national issues, you will allow me to refer to a critical aspect of the Cypriot problem. As is known, Turkey invaded Cyprus and since then has been occupying 40 percent of the island under the right of a guarantor power. As such instead of restoring constitutional order it occupied 40 percent of the island. The question is: why has not Greece made use until now of this same right since it too is a guarantor power? Greece is asked: Is it thinking of making use of this right as a guarantor power and demanding the prompt departure of the Turkish troops from Cyprus and the definite solution of the Cypriot problem?

ANSWER: Our appeals to the Security Council and the General Assembly were made under this identity. Greece had a strong right to such appeals because it is a guarantor power. England too made an appeal. Resolutions were adopted which, however, are not being implemented. I cannot see what result another appeal could have under the same identity since every September the issue is debated in the United Nations always after a motion by the government of Cyprus.

M. GAVRILOVIC (Yugoslav Press Agency): Mr. Premier, I would like to ask if your government has undertaken any preparations for participation in the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and if the proposed dates can be accepted by the Greek government.

ANSWER: Greece has not only accepted participation in the conference but also believes that the conference should take place on the proposed dates and hopes that it can contribute to the development of a climate better than the one presently existing. About 6 months ago, moreover, I, as foreign minister, had appointed former Ambassador to Washington Alexandrakis to assume this special mission--the deliberations with other governments--for exchanging views so that we could contribute to the success of the conference. Alexandrakis had already held talks with at least 10 representatives of European countries.

I. RIGOS (United Press): Mr. Premier, in the Chamber of Deputies, we heard one of the opposition leaders say that Greece should not return to NATO because NATO allowed one of its members to attack another member--it

allowed, that is, Turkey to attack Cyprus. Since when is Cyprus considered a NATOist area? We are of the opinion that this is exactly the reason that Cyprus cannot be united with Greece.

ANSWER: Cyprus was never a member of NATO. But the Turkish invasion was also an act against Greece which was a guarantor power.

M. GURJEN (MILLIYET--Turkish newspaper): In 1976, Karamanlis had said that Greece would try to exhaust all peaceful and other means for solving the Cyprus problem before resorting to war. You have said about the same things in your speech [in the chamber] last Wednesday. That surprises Ankara is why the term "war" is being used. And this [use of this term] explains Demirel's reactions.

ANSWER: I can understand the reaction if one says simply the word "war" and nothing else. But I have said that the international disputes are solved by international procedures, peaceful procedures, or we must resort to war. Greece believes that before one resorts to war, one should exhaust all peaceful procedures. I repeat, in other words, what Karamanlis said "ad nauseum" as premier from 1976 to 1980. And in order to erase any doubt, I shall add that war is unavoidable if no understanding is reached and if there is a clash. It is possible then to resort to war. But the Greek government believes that war should be avoided, because the solution of the dispute is possible through dialogue and through the international procedures being offered to us.

M. KONSTANTINIDIS (AGON of Cyprus): You said earlier that the dogma "Cyprus decides and Greece advises" was requested by Cyprus. Does this mean that if Cyprus had not asked for such a dogma Greece would have been disposed to help?

ANSWER: You should be asking me about facts and not about things which have no relation at all with reality. This is a decision reached since the time of the late Makarios and it concerns a policy which was proposed by Cyprus and was accepted by Greece. Do not ask me therefore what could be done because I will not answer such a question.

F. DOPOULOS (Associated Press): Mr. Premier, both the previous government and your government have been accused by the opposition and more particularly by A. Papandreou of discussing and negotiating issues with Turkey concerning Turkish demands on Greece. You have declared that the "status quo" will remain unchanged. I would like to ask what has been demanded so as to make you declare that the "status quo" will not be changed.

ANSWER: I am afraid that even though I have explained them so many times, some things are so complicated that they cannot be understood. Our fundamental difference with Turkey is about the continental shelf. There is no "status quo" as concerns the continental shelf. What is needed is definition of boundaries. Many nations have not done such definition of

boundaries. To achieve this it is necessary to have negotiations. For example, a year ago, following negotiations which lasted 2-3 years, we reached an agreement with the Italians and defined the boundary of the common continental shelf in the Ionian Sea.

Laws were drafted which were approved by both the Greek and the Italian Chambers of Deputies. Thus, the agreement was concluded. But between Greece and Turkey no boundary has been agreed upon and therefore no "status quo" exists. To achieve it, discussions and negotiations are needed.

Security of the Area

P. ANASTASIADIS (NEW YORK TIMES): Mr. Premier, in recent speeches in the Chamber of Deputies you and the minister of defense hinted that the question of reentry into NATO is related to that of the American bases. Have you reached a decision not to sign the agreement concerning the American bases if the return of Greece to NATO is not achieved under satisfactory conditions or do the two issues remain separate? One other related question. Are you satisfied with the proposals submitted to the Congress on aid to Greece and Turkey?

ANSWER: We shall deal with the question of American bases after we study the Turkish-American agreement because, as you understand, the question of the American bases in Greece is absolutely related to the recent Turkish-American agreement. The decision of the Congress on the military assistance to Greece and Turkey is satisfactory to us because the 7 to 10 ratio as approved 3 years ago has been maintained.

E. ANDONAROS (SPRINGER--German magazine): Could you tell us if Austrian Chancellor Kreisky with whom you had a meeting before this conference briefed you on the contacts and results he had in Teheran? Could you tell us something about this?

ANSWER: I did not have the opportunity to have meaningful talks with Kreisky. We met only for half an hour because of his conference with you at 1200 hours. We exchanged general views and examined the agenda of the talks which will start tomorrow. Undoubtedly he will brief me on his impressions of his visit in Teheran but I don't know if the information should be made public. This depends on his desire also.

K. PITZOLJ (Italian Press Agency): Are you planning to visit any foreign country?

ANSWER: For the moment I plan to visit Greece which from the premiership point of view is still unknown to me. Beyond this I do not have other plans. I do not have any invitations except the one from the Swedish government. The visit was to be realized on 9 May but was postponed because of the political developments here. But we have agreed with

the Swedish government to arrange for a new date through diplomatic channels. In any case, this will take place after the summer.

A. STIERLI (MANHEIMER-MORGEN--German newspaper): In view of the crises in Afghanistan and Iran, the need for the return of Greece to the military structure of NATO has increased in the opinion of the American government. Does the Greek side share the opinion that indeed there exists a more urgent need for the country's return to NATO?

ANSWER: We believe that the security of this area can be absolutely assured if Greece cooperates militarily with NATO. It is for this reason that we submitted the known proposals. Of course every crisis in the area makes the need for the reestablishment of military ties more indispensable and urgent.

K. KOLMER (SCHWEITZERSCHER HANDALS--Swiss newspaper): The European Community has decided to impose some economic sanctions on Iran. Did Greece participate in the relevant negotiations within the framework of political cooperation and does it share these economic sanctions imposed by the Community?

ANSWER: As you know, we are not under obligation to do so since the treaty we signed with EEC does not provide for political cooperation. It is a development about to be materialized and about which the treaty makes no provision. In any event, there is no need for us to study the case because we do not have economic relations with Iran. Our economic contacts concern items not included in the embargo. I have answered the first part of your question because many times I see in the press that we are obligated to follow this or that line that the Community follows. It must be understood that such obligation does not exist for any member-country. It would, of course, be a blessing if there were unanimity on all important political matters. But since in this case no one is under obligation it is not fair to say why this or that decision was not implemented by this or that member. More specifically, you should have in mind that one member-state of EEC--I think it is Great Britain--did not follow the line followed by the rest of the members.

Cooperation in the Balkans

TZ. KOUTS (BHC-GUARDIAN): Mr. Premier, in recent years we observed a dramatic shift in the area's strategic balance as a result of various events such as the death of Tito, the events in Iran and Afghanistan and the failure of Camp David. Yet the answers you are giving today could also have been valid 5 years ago. In one of your answers you said that the next step in the relations between Greece and NATO must be made by the latter. In other words, NATO should take measures to neutralize the Turkish veto. Don't you think that in your country there should be greater freedom of action on a subject of such vital importance in view of the recent developments and the recent events in this area?

ANSWER: The freedom of action is determined by the country's interests. Any action is possible provided it is not detrimental to the national interests of Greece. If we had accepted the proposals to the counter-proposal which were submitted to us last summer and again 3 months later we would have violated this principle which for us is inviolate.

G. MANOUSAKIS (RHEINISCHER MERKUR--German newspaper): Mr. Premier, I would like to ask you three related questions. Here is the first one: The crisis in Iran has exposed the weakness of the United States in the Indian Ocean. Turkey has repeatedly declared that it is not about to allow its territory to be used [by the U.S.] for operations against the Islamic states before defining the kind of operations. Greece is near the Middle East. Would it be possible for Greece to offer the Americans such concessions?

ANSWER: This is a hypothetical question. Please do not ask such hypothetical questions because I am not about to answer them.

G. MANOUSAKIS (RHEINISCHER MERKUR--German newspaper): According to press information the Soviet Union will attempt in the near future to change the existing situation in the Middle East. Is the cooperation between Greece and the United States sufficient to cope with such possibility in the Middle East?

ANSWER: I cannot speak about the overall strategy. I can only talk to you about Greece. Whether or not Moscow has changed its overall strategy, this is something I cannot answer.

G. MANOUSAKIS (RHEINISCHER MERKUR--German newspaper): In your statements on the government's platform you said that you will continue your predecessor's Balkan policy. But the policy of your predecessor's government did not achieve important results. What does your government expect [to achieve] from the continuation of this policy?

ANSWER: I personally believe that on the contrary the Balkan policy of the Karamanlis government had dramatic results. I believe that the relations of Greece with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania never reached such a high point as they did after 1974. It is true that the proposals for a multilateral nonpolitical cooperation did not meet with great success. But the cooperation has begun and I am convinced that with the passing of time--as you know, these problems are not solved within 6 months or a year--the multilateral conference can cover many nonpolitical issues if other preconditions are met.

O. KALPATZIOGLOU (TERCUMAN--Turkish newspaper): How can it be possible to achieve a solution [to the dispute] between Greece and Turkey, and to put an end to this dispute at last, to this disagreement between the two countries? Do you have a solution to propose? Are you considering any solution?

ANSWER: I believe that if we continue the dialogue and find out that it does not lead to any results we can then submit the case to the international court or to international arbitration and our differences will certainly be solved. I personally believe that this dispute would have been solved had the 1976 Karamanlis proposal been accepted. I further believe that Greece and Turkey are neighbors and cannot change their geographical position. The only dictated solution is to settle their differences in order for them to exist and progress.

O. DIPKEN (German Press Agency): I would like to ask what measures the Greek government intends to take in view of the destabilization effort being made at this moment in Cyprus.

ANSWER: I do not see anything other than to have the two communities participate in good faith in the dialogue the United Nations is recommending and trying to initiate under the aegis of Waldheim.

I. RIGOS (United Press): Mr. Premier, with regard to Olymbia [Olympia] and the Olympic games and their being held here [permanently], a reaction has begun to develop among the various ecological and environmental protection groups because they believe that Olymbia is a very sensitive area ecologically and archeologically. They believe that the Olympic installations to be built near there would destroy the ecological balance. Could it be that Greece could perhaps recommend other areas where the ecological damage would be less and where the Olympic games could be held?

ANSWER: Naturally, Greece and the Greek government are interested more than anyone else in not disturbing the environment in Olymbia. Karamanlis reached this proposal after considering the non-disturbance of the environment. We believe that it is possible to hold the games near Olymbia, to build the installations needed for the athletes and the visitors without disturbing the environment. Of course, there are in Greece other places where the games could be held, but we proposed the Olymbia site because it is entwined with the Olympic idea. Their organization there would have a great psychological impact. In any event, if the proposal is accepted by the other nations, the Olymbia environment is not about to suffer the slightest disturbance.

Rotation of Power

M. MONDIANO (LONDON TIMES): Mr. Premier, I feel almost ashamed to have to ask you about domestic matters inasmuch as all previous questions concerned external affairs. The most important feature of a constitutional democracy is the normal rotation to power. I would like to ask you if you could state that the guarantees for such normal interchange exist in Greece, in view of certain reservations expressed by government staffers during the recent debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the question whether the opposition party would possibly install a one-party system if it came

to power. It has been said, that is, that this opposition would install a one-party system if it came to power.

ANSWER: You cannot say such a thing now. The change must be made first and then stated afterwards. In many parts of the world the governing party has doubts whether change will benefit the country. It is very natural as well as certain that all of us who believe in the New Democracy Party believe that the interest of the country is better protected with the New Democracy remaining in power, provided of course that it is supported at the polls by the majority of the Greek people. Of course, some people have greater fears and others lesser ones about a possible change--some see a possible change as very dangerous and others less dangerous. What we all agree on is that the country's interest is better assured if the Greek people vote against the New Democracy Party.

M. MONDIANO (LONDON TIMES): If the Greek voters decide to vote the opposition party Panhellenic Socialist Party of A. Papandreou is there a guarantee--you, being the government, can say--that it will assume power in a normal way?

ANSWER: There is no doubt that if a party other than the New Democracy wins the election, this wish of the Greek people will be fulfilled. This is democracy. Is it possible to say that democracy exists only when this or that party is in power? Democracy means the free election of the government by the people. If someone else is elected, he will assume the governing of the country.

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GREEK GOVERNMENT, OPPOSITION LEADERS ANSWER QUESTIONS ON TRENDS

AT170910 Athens ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 16 Jun 80

[First of a series by ELEVTHEROTYPIA political editors, Georgios Votsis, Louis Danos, Stratis Zakhariadis and Aristidis Manolakos on the general question: "The 'Authority Complex'--Who Governs the Country Today." Replied by Prime Minister Georgios Rallis; PASOK Chairman A. Papandreou and former Justice Minister K. Kallias.]

[Text] Prime Minister G. Rallis' statement that smooth alternation of parties in authority (perhaps a commonplace in other countries) is guaranteed, has created strong impressions as it touches upon the main issue of the stability of parliamentary institutions in Greece 6 years after collapse of the dictatorship. ELEVTHEROTYPIA presented the following four questions to political leaders:

1--What do you think could oppose the will of the sovereign people as it would be expressed at the polls and what will guarantee respect of this will?

2--Are there parallel "centers" or factors and apparatus of authority?

3--Are there "watertight" areas in the political control of the armed forces and the security forces?

4--Will there be changes in the "authority complex" as a result of K. Karamanlis' election as president of the republic?

Prime Minister Georgios Rallis reacted to ELEVTHEROTYPIA's questions with the following laconic but extremely lucid statement:

"Only the will of the people, as expressed at the polls, can regulate the succession of parties in authority. All authorities stem from the people and they are exercised for the people. There are no parallel centers or watertight areas. The regime functions smoothly within the limits defined by the constitution, the presence of Konstandinos Karamanlis at the presidency of the republic is an additional guarantee for strengthening the regime and reinforcing its institutions."

After stressing that "there is no second opinion on all this" either within the government or within 'new democracy' the prime minister referred us to former Minister of Justice K. Kallias for "more analytical answers" to our questions.

Andreas Papandreou: At the Dawn of a New Course

As a whole and without referring specifically to the fourth question of ELEVTHEROTYPIA the leader of the majority opposition party and chairman of PASOK Andreas Papandreou stated:

"The prime minister's statement that alternation in authority is guaranteed would have been an unnecessary commonplace if our fatherland's recent history did not include the 7-year 'parenthesis' of the stark American-motivated dictatorship of 21 April 1967.

"The Greek people know very well what was the apparatus which was mobilized in order to destroy the peoples' sovereignty and the democratic regime. In Greece it was originally formed by the Metaxas dictatorship and later, within the framework of the civil war, by a parallel authority. This was a parallel authority (the parastate) which had as its goal the protection of the strategic interests of the United States and the economic oligarchy, both foreign and local. This parallel authority had branches spreading through the entire state apparatus but it was particularly strong within the armed forces, the information services and the royal palace. This was the very apparatus which moved on 21 April in an effort to prevent the sure victory of the democratic forces in the election scheduled for 28 May.

"The parallel authority was not simply a 'network of plotters.' It had a specific political expression within the dominant ideology of the right. This was an ideology which separated the Greeks into 'nationalists' and 'infected' ones, an ideology which legalized parliamentary institutions only to the extent that they would not affect the centers of authority, in other words to the degree that they would not endanger the interests of the establishment.

"This deck was a 'stacked deck' in Greece. We must not forget that the Promethevs plan had recent 'predecessors': The violence and corruption of 1971 (the Pericles plan) and the royal coup of 15 Junly 1965.

"There is a basic question: To What degree does htis 'parallel authority' and its political-ideological expression still exist? Also there is the question to what degree is it in a position to threaten the people's sovereignty and the democratic institutions?

"We have repeatedly argued that 'new democracy' not only failed to proceed to the essential cleansing (dejuntification) but that on the contrary it once again constructed the one-party state of the right wing. We have also

stressed that tolerance toward the unprecedented attack against peoples sovereignty and the democratic institutions by political representatives and newspaper organs of the extreme right can poison to a dangerous degree the political 'climate' in our country. For this reason we have absolutely no right to rest. It is the duty of all of us to fight on a daily basis for the defense of peoples' sovereignty and the democratization and Hellenization of the state.

"I am also convinced that the objective and subjective conditions for another 21 April do not exist anymore. The country's armed forces--in their greatest majority--will not again get trapped by aspiring 'saviors' because the experience of the shameful 7-year period is too recent; because the huge economic scandals of the 'colonels' are also too recent; because the betrayal of Cyprus is also recent; because the role of the United States both in the tragedy of Cyprus as well as in the Turkish threat against our country's territorial integrity and in the Aegean is well known.

"We are at the end of an era and at the beginning of another. We are at the wane of the monarchy of the right and the dominance of the United States and NATO. We are at the dawn of a new course for the nation, a course which will guarantee our national independence, the unconditional peoples' sovereignty and the social liberation of our people."

With the personal authorization of Prime Minister and "new democracy" leader G. Rallis, former Minister of Justice K. Kallias gave the following answers to ELEVTEROTYPIA's questions:

1--No volition and no force would be able to oppose the will of the sovereign people. The smooth function of all democratic institutions during the past 6 years is both a proof and a guarantee that the principle of peoples' sovereignty was and will remain absolutely respected and that it is being faithfully applied in action according to the provisions of the country's constitutional charter.

2--The "centers" and "apparatus" of authority in our country are only those which stem from the country's political structure as it is clearly defined by the constitution in strict implementation of the principles of peoples' sovereignty and national independence. Any other source of authority is unthinkable. I believe that this has never been basically challenged by any political front during the 6-year life of our democratic regime. Consequently, I believe there is no justification for the question under today's current Greek conditions as well as under those which could be logically forecast. Particularly under today's conditions of smooth political life and social calm I believe that even the temptation to create "centers" of authority outside constitutional limits is also unthinkable. At the same time everyone also knows that we possess both will as well as the strength given to us by the democratic parliamentary constitution and the national unity of spirit of our people in order to frustrate any improbable attempts against the political regime and calm.

1--Obviously this question is directly related to the previous one. For this reason there can be no different answer to it. The armed forces are fully cognizant of the importance of their mission as it is defined by the regime and our laws. They are fully aware that any meddling would not only be unconstitutional but that it would also erode the vast prestige of the defender of national sovereignty. Our armed forces have also reached such a high level of organization and preparedness that they have become an impenetrable shield to our defensive security and our national independence. It is for this very reason that they have a right to enjoy and they do enjoy, all-national recognition and respect.

In reference to the security forces we have a duty to laud the fact that they are carrying out their basically and psychologically extremely difficult task with a spirit of self denial and in a manner which is in accordance to the democratic dictates of constitutional law. In this way they are the shield for domestic calm and the uninterrupted function of democratic institutions.

4--This last question is the most timely and the most important. I answer without any beating about the bush. The election of K. Karamanlis as president of the republic not only rules out any dangers of the regime as a result of "changes within the complex of authority" but is, on the contrary an additional guarantee for smooth democratic developments. This is because Karamanlis has always demonstrated his faith in authority based upon a popular basis. At the same time he also possesses the authority for an active protection of the regime should the need arise.

Our regime in itself, however, does not give "excessive authorities" to the president of the republic and does not offer itself for a dangerous exercise of the function of the president. At the time when the constitution was being drafted I personally expressed certain reservations, primarily theoretic ones, on certain functions of the president. It is, however, a fact that our regime as it was finally approved is genuinely democratic and parliamentary with a slight, as Karamanlis personally described it, strengthening of the executive authority.

I will explain more specifically: the prerequisites for entrusting the prime ministership, in other words of authority, which is the most important function of the president, is defined with particularly excessive detail by article 37 of the constitution. The dissolution of the chamber can be undertaken only for reasons which are strictly confined under article 41 of the constitution. The proclamation of a plebiscite could become dangerous to the president himself and, therefore, it is ruled out as a careless initiative except for the fact that, in a last analysis, it is a reference to the source of authority, that is the people themselves. The president's legislative acts are issued under the authority of the cabinet which is based upon the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies and their future power depends upon the approval of the Chamber of Deputies.

In conclusion the declaration of martial law presupposes, in accordance with given circumstances, the previous approval of the entire cabinet or only of the prime minister and with the exception of war or of a danger from the outside it can apply for only 30 days unless its enforcement is extended by a new decree with the approval of the Chamber of Deputies.

It is obvious that our democratic regime is in no danger from the powers of any one of the established authorities.

As to President K. Karamanlis himself, I believe he will be an additional guarantee for democratic calm.

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POSSIBLE ND PARTY DEVELOPMENTS ANALYZED

Athens ANDI in Greek 25 May 80 pp 14,15

[Text] Shortly after Kon. Karamanlis was sworn in as president of the republic (on 15 May), a group of pro-Averof deputies had a discussion, in some corner of the Chamber of Deputies, on the "great angered one" of the inner-party reckoning, Evangelos Averof. There were more than 25 deputies in the group; their secret discussion, which lasted more than half an hour, gave new impetus to comments: "They are enough and more than enough to pose, when they want, the question of Rallis in the party and government."

Certain movements of "pro-Averof" persons in recent days are not unknown to political writers (but also to the Rallis circle). They have had in their homes deliberations in which they are trying to work out the general plan and stages of their conspiracy.

Certain "pro-Rallis" persons, who are learning "first hand" what is being planned for the future, are saying to allay worries: "You must trust in the superficiality of the pro-Averof forces."

What are these plans, however, and what are their possibilities?

The "pro-Averof" forces do not hide their disappointment in the refusal of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement], and especially its leadership, to cooperate in a common-interest effort to overthrow the present leader of New Democracy [ND].

It is said that the "pro-Averof" forces informed the PASOK leadership: "The far-rightist Averof leaves the area of the center free for you." The reply conveyed to them was that PASOK, when it takes over the government in the next elections, needs a rightist opposition which will not create problems for it with its supports in power mechanisms.

At the same time, the weakness of self-criticism and the conviction that the power in the party and government "has been destroyed by manifold betrayals which we had not counted on," has led the "pro-Averof" forces to a sometimes indirect and at other times direct (particularly through local

newspapers and politicians) attack on Karamanlis, certain press groups, factors of economic life, etc.

Before we see what problems could be created by such polemics, we must note this characteristic: that the "pro-Averof" forces in their desperation have decided henceforth to rely on their own forces within the Parliamentary Group.

"We will do battle by ourselves and we will win," say the optimists who estimate that the 84 votes have become 104 because of the displeasure of those who have not been made ministers.

Thus, not only do certain fanatic "pro-Averof" persons not conceal, but they affirm that there is a prepared register of 20 deputies with which they can demand, even tomorrow, the convening of the Parliamentary Group and raise the issue of a new leader and premier.

Nevertheless, according to the conclusions of two deliberations held in the houses of two "pro-Averof" former ministers (the one in the house of Papadogonas has already been reported by RIZOSPASTIS), subversive initiatives will be carried out sometime in the fall. This timing is due to a series of considerations. By then, they calculate that they will have become better organized, restricting the "traitors" of the 134-84 difference (before and after the balloting); they will have tested the "loyalty" of those who they hope will be dissatisfied by the Rallis government; and--particularly--the much desired opportunity to counter-attack will have been given to them.

How could this opportunity be given? On two "cards" the "pro-Averof" forces calculate: in the sector of foreign affairs and in economic problems which will have intensified by then.

Two rightist newspapers in Cyprus have already begun a systematic campaign against the new foreign affairs minister, Mitsotakis, and the dichotomous orders to which it is said it will be subjected in the future. Indeed, the "pro-Averof" forces estimate that by next fall the Rallis government will be facing (and will submit to) direct pressure by the United States and NATO for solution of the problems of Cyprus, the Aegean, re-entry into NATO and the American bases.

Certainly--as it has been discussed in the deliberations--the "pro-Averof" forces are not going to make use of criticism from the left--"Will we become an appendage of Andreas [Papandreou]?"--in any negotiations or procedures for solving these issues according to American or NATO interests. To the contrary, they calculate that the Rallis government, following the Karamanlis line, will remain at the present standstill and will thus be accused of "indecision" which harms the national interests and ties with the alliance.

So much the better, they say, if something (like directed acrimony) is created in Cyprus, the Aegean and Yugoslavia.

The "pro-Averof" forces calculate that their criticism of foreign matters will facilitate excesses due to their volleys personally against Mitsotakis who has the least possible amount of popular sympathy. The "pro-Rallis" forces, who do not ignore all this, maintain that "Rallis will not hesitate to expel them and denounce them, shunned by Karamanlis and Andreas, as conspirators."

The second opportunity which they are counting on to decisively destroy and overthrow the Rallis government is economic issues, with a motive and excuse being the vote on the budget next November.

The "pro-Averof" forces say that they will exercise ostensible pro-people criticism of the budget and will vote against it, thus creating inner-party agitation which (along with other accumulated problems) will lead to removal of Rallis from leadership of the party and government. Until then, and until as many of the things planned above happen, the "pro-Averof" forces do not hide the fact that they will act as an inner-party pressure group with the ever present threat that "they will probably follow their own political road"--as write certain conservative American newspapers in order to keep the subject open.

The viewpoint that "the superficiality of the pro-Averof forces is our best ally" is the first element in the reasoning of the "pro-Rallis" forces who seem well informed about the persons and movements against them. "No more than 30 deputies have ever been able to get together," they comment and they add that "we are talking about the most ridiculous of the 84 pro-Averof people."

Supporters of the present ND leader and premier have every reason to believe (though they do not prove it) that the 84 Averof deputies have become at least 54, as happened in the voting 84 to 134, which they asserted they had in advance.

With the exception of the old islander and OIKKE [Federation of Greek Communist Youth] cadre, Thanasis Kanellopoulos, who was changed into a fanatic "pro-Averof" man and far rightist, the old "Andreas Papandreou man" and also today far rightist, Kon. Laskaris, and two or three other ministers who were kept in the Rallis government, all the "pro-Averof" ministers have become "loyal." They cite as an example Minister of Interior Khr. Stratos who has "become disgusted by the superficialities" of the "little pro-Averof people" but also by Averof himself who, while he led Khr. Stratos to the Pentagon and assured him that he would be minister of national defense, had appointed--as it was revealed--the same post to Varvitsiotis.

The "pro-Rallis" forces also maintain that the things Averof plans with Papadongonas and the others concerning foreign and economic matters

cannot be adopted without coming into conflict with Karamanlis himself, who, it is believed, has a deciding word in these two sectors; or, as they said, "without the volleys hitting their own Thanasis Kanellopoulos" who participates in the Governmental and Economic Committee.

But there is one other ostensible idea about the inner-party reckoning which "must happen in the fall."

The "pro-Averof" forces' third plan, which is expected to be revealed before the next elections, is the demand for themselves of the title "pure-blooded rightist." For this reason they declare and maintain: "I am a rightist, I am not pro-Rallis." For the present, this has earned them the plaudits of ELEVTERIOS KOSMOS, but they believe that Rallis' declarations concerning "radical liberalism," along with other governmental failures, will ensure them the possibility of ridiculing, as a lack of seriousness, every declaration and governmental decision which is not subject to the "firm" conviction "I, in any case, am a rightist." This third plan is another alternative solution enabling the "pro-Averof" forces to declare their difference and overthrow the Rallis government.

Thus they reckon that New Democracy will be led to elections with their own leadership, because only in this way can the premiership be ensured for Averof, not with a splitting or removal of Rallis in a post-electoral defeat.

The premier's supporters, who do not estimate the hard-core pro-Averof deputies to number more than 30, believe that these people cannot do anything until the elections.

Their first assertion is that the "pro-Averof" forces have thrown them in with the "traitor Karamanlis" but this cannot become their central dissociative slogan, not only because Karamanlis is president of the republic, but because thus public opinion and party adherents will have a deep conviction that "Karamanlis wants Rallis."

The "pro-Rallis" forces' second assertion is that, in order for the issue of a new party president and premier to be posed, 20 deputies are not sufficient for convening of the Parliamentary Group; at least one-third of the deputies, that is about 59 of the 176 deputies which ND presently has, are needed. This is clearly stipulated by Article Seven of the Parliamentary Group's functionary regulations which require this number of deputies for a proposal of recall of the party leader.

"They talk rubbish and do not sit down to consult the texts," observe the "pro-Rallis" forces and they explain that the number of 20 deputies for a proposal of lack of confidence in the Chamber was in accordance with the 1952 Constitution, while the constitution in force (Article 84, paragraphs 2-3) demand the signature of at least 50 deputies.

On general lines, one can observe that the deputies around Evangelos Averof "have come to a stop" at the turn in the road for the government of New Democracy and are whetting their knives until fall.

For murders or for "suicides?"

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN SYNDICALISM REPORTED

Athens O OIKONOMIKOS TAKHYDROMOS in Greek 1 May 80 p 25

[Text] 1879: The first labor trade union for men--the Syros Association of Carpenters and Shipbuilders--was established. The first strikes occurred by carpenters and shipbuilders in Syros demanding increased daily wages and decreased hours of work.

1880-1890: Associations were established in various branches. Print shop workers, seamen, metal workers, cooks, retail store employees, etc., were organized. In Athens the print shop workers, cigarette factory workers and tailors went on strike. During the same period Lavrion was shaken by the strikes of the mine workers which resulted, moreover, in the death of two workers.

1893: May Day was observed for the first time in the area of the Styles Tou Olympiou Dios (Zeus of Olympus Columns).

1906: The association of Lavrion mine workers was established with 5,000 members. The first associations of tobacco workers came into existence.

1903: The first labor center was organized in Volos. The Athens Labor Center was established in 1910. It was followed by similar centers in Piraeus, Patrai and other cities.

1911: The first Panhellenic Labor Federation was founded. It was dissolved a few years later.

1910-20: Throughout Greece a number of strikes took place, most important of which were the strikes by seamen and stokers, railroad workers, the Kavala tobacco workers, natural gas workers, bank employees, cigarette factory workers, electricians and technicians, and the Serifos mine workers. This strike was marked by four deaths.

1916: The Greek General Confederation of Labor [GSEE] was founded with the participation of 214 unions which, according to sources of that period, represented about 65,000 workers. The first GSEE Panhellenic Congress (1918)

and the second one were controlled by Marxist syndicalists who adopted the struggle of the classes as a constitutional principle of the federation.

1919: The first pan-worker strike was declared successful.

1920-21: Led by GSEE, a number of strikes took place some of which were bloody such as those by seamen, railroad workers, the Piraeus longshoremen, and as was the Volos general strike and the Federation of Electro-locomotion workers' strike. Most of these strikes were unsuccessful and this had an unfavorable impact on the future development of the labor movement.

1923-26: Violent clashes occurred during the May Day observance in Athens. There were bloody strikes by the Agrinion tobacco workers in 1926.

1926: At the 3rd GSEE Panhellenic Congress the confederation's administration was taken over by conservative-reformist cadres following government intervention.

1928: Following the 4th GSEE Panhellenic Congress certain labor centers and federations which were under KKE influence deserted GSEE and formed the United General Workers' Confederation.

1930: The 5th GSEE Panhellenic Congress took place as well as another split. The socialists pulled out and formed the Panhellenic General Labor Confederation.

1930-36: A large number of strikes, some of them bloody, occurred throughout Greece and in various branches such as that of the Kalamata port workers, the Athens industrial workers, and the Irakleion general strike. At about the end of this period there were trends for uniting the fragmented syndicalist movement.

1936: The tobacco workers' strike took on explosive proportions. The May Day observance in Salonica was bloody. The big strike of 9 May left 30 dead and 70 wounded. A general strike was scheduled for 5 August. One day before the strike the Metaxas dictatorship was established.

1940-45: The strikes occurred also during the occupation period. Important among them were those of the postal, telegraph and telephone workers in 1942, the public employees in 1943, and bank employees in 1944. In May 1944, the Germans executed 200 Greek soldiers many of whom were syndicalists.

1946: Following the liberation from the Germans, the 6th GSEE Panhellenic Congress took place and its administration was taken over by KKE cadres.

1948: At the 9th GSEE Panhellenic Congress, the confederation's administration was dominated by conservative-conformist cadres. Fotis Makris was elected secretary general and he stayed in that post for the next 20 years except during the 1964-66 period. At this congress the GSEE's strength

included 63 labor centers, 11 federations and 1,900 first-rank associations which, according to estimates of the International Labor Office, represented 100,000 workers and employees.

1950-55: There were sporadic and uncoordinated strikes whose main demand was an increase in salaries and wages. Most important among them were those by bank employees, tobacco workers, postal workers and employees, bakers, professors, tanners and employees of the Greek Telecommunications Organization. The strike wave reached its peak in 1953 (with 96 days of strike for every 1,000 workers and employees).

1955-60: The Democratic Labor Movement was organized in 1956 and consisted of cadres connected with the United Democratic Left [EDA]. Strikes were held by the bank employees, postal workers, tobacco workers, print shop workers, drivers, etc. The strike wave reached its peak in 1953 (96 days of strike per 1,000 workers and employees).

1955-60: Centrist and leftist syndicalists developed great activity after 1960, the year the 16th GSEE Panhellenic Congress took place. After 1962, 115 Cooperating Organizations of Workers and Employees [SEO] were formed. In 1967, their number dropped to 720, all of which were controlled by cadres of the Center-Left. At about the same time, cadres leaning toward the Center Union [Party] left the Democratic Labor Change [DSA]. Cadres of DSA and of the 115 SEO's led several strikes. Most important of them were those of the construction workers, teachers, professors and bank employees. The strike wave reached its peak in 1963 (with 271 days of strike for each 1,000 workers and employees). Its lowest point was reached in 1960 (67 days of strike).

1964-66: Following the Center Union Party [electoral] victory in February 1964, there were important realignments in the GSEE administration. Up until and including 1966, five general secretaries were successively appointed to the confederation among whom was N. Papageorgiou, a Center Union cadre and GSEE president at that time. At the 16th GSEE Panhellenic Congress held in Piraeus in 1966, the group of Makris-Theodorou reformists took control of the confederation. The Central-Leftist labor opposition charged that the congress was illegal and walked out. During the same period (1964-66) the strikes were spreading considerably. The strike wave reached its peak in 1966 for the whole 1946-47 period [sic] (with 520 days of strike days for 1,000 workers and employees).

1967-74: On 21 April, the then GSEE leadership under F. Makris sent enthusiastic congratulatory telegrams to the colonels. In 1966, GSEE dismissed Makris and Theodorou as a result of internal disputes among the leaders of the regime. They were replaced by Kambenellis and Plouridakis. As is known, during the dictatorship union activities were eliminated almost completely and there were no strikes worth mentioning. Only the print shop and trolley workers showed any activity. Also, the bank employees threatened

to go on strike when G. Papadopoulos announced his intention to consolidate all insurance funds. Their threat thwarted the "earthquake" the dictator had planned.

1974: Following the end of the dictatorship in 1974 the then administration of the labor centers and federations were replaced by virtue of Legislative Decree 42/74. Most of the ranking associations regained the administrative positions they had had before the dictatorship. In the case of GSEE especially, its former president and secretary general N. Papageorgiou and Khr. Karakitsos, respectively, were reappointed to their former positions. The group headed by these two cadres prevailed during the GSEE Panhellenic Congress elections in 1976 (18th Congress). They also prevailed in the 19th Congress. After 1974, the labor movement of the country charted a new course in its history. Compared to the pre-juntist period, the strikes were greater in intensity and longer in duration. Important among them were the strikes by industrial workers, miners, bank employees, educators and public utilities workers. It should be noted that in 1976 the number of strike days reached 642 for 1,000 workers and employees, even though the following year their number dropped to 569.

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CLINIC FOR INDIGENT PATIENTS DONATED

Athens VONIKHANIKI EPITHEORISIS in Greek Apr 80 p 18

[Text] Andreas Metaxas, president of the large distillery S.&I.&A. Metaxa Co., died last March at age 84. Born and raised in Piraeus, he was one of the factors in the rapid development of the family's company--together with his late brothers Angelos and Georgios and his sons Spyros and Ilias--and in its becoming an enterprise of international prestige and fame.

Andreas Metaxas was known not only for his industrial activities but also for his social benevolence and was one of the contributors to the excellent Piraeus Institute for Diagnosis and Treatment. He was also the person who inspired the public benefit project now being implemented by his wife Zoi Metaxa and his children.

The project concerns the establishment of an institution whose mission would be to give free relief to indigent patients and to provide the best possible medical care in Greece or abroad. It will be known as the Andreas and Zoi Metaxa Institution and will start operating on 1 May 1980 with Athens University Medical School Professor Konstan. Toundas as its director.

The announcement about the institution's establishment was made by Metaxas' wife Zoi and son Spyros at the company's installations a few days after his death. "We are more interested," said Zoi Metaxa, "in having the impoverished sick people know that from now on they can apply somewhere for medical relief. We started this project because we know that our country needed it. [It was built] out of love for man and especially the man who is tormented by illness, the man who so often extends his hand for help, who appeals to philanthropists, who faces hardships, who is deserted."

On the other hand, Spyros Metaxas expressed the hope that this effort would find "others who will imitate it because then there would be relief for the indigent, ill people who often come from villages and do not know where to go. Their situation is tragic and indeed they feel deserted. The institution will try to serve as many people as possible. It will offer all-around excellent service--not simple treatment--to the individual until complete recovery is achieved. If the situation so demands, the

institution will be in a position to send sick people abroad for medical treatment. Of course, this effort is being attempted for the first time and we do not know what to expect, how many applicants we will have. However, we have already earmarked a large amount of money for each year."

In his short speech Professor K. Toundas praised the "special sensitivities of the Metaxas family regarding the subject of health" and then made the following observation: "The conditions existing today in our country are known. We often see in the press and on TV poor people begging for help, indigent people who do not have the means for medical treatment. If the state were well governed we would not have this situation. But since it is not, it is necessary to establish institutions which will erase the ugly appearance Greece gives as far as medical relief is concerned. The Metaxas institution will offer the best medical care to those who are indeed poor with absolutely no obligation on their part."

Those interested may apply to the institution by telephone (8016711) or by writing to the temporary address: Andreas and Zoi Metaxa Institution, 13th Kilometer, Athens-Lamia National Highway.

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AUTOMATED SYSTEM REPORTED FOR UTILITY BILL PAYMENT

Athens EPIKAIRA in Greek 22-28 May 80 p 39

[Article by G. Katsonis: "The Present System of Paying Bills for Electricity, Telephone, Water, etc. 'Being Abolished'"]

[Text] Monthly [utility] bills (some organizations send them every 2 months) are one of the problems faced by modern housewives and all of us. Besides the anxiety "lest the payment due date has passed" and the water, electricity, telephone service may be cut off which means greater expense and effort to reinstall them, there is also the "loss of a day's work" in order to pay them [personally].

"Today I have no time for these errands...I have bills [to pay]" are much repeated phrases since at the Public Power Corporation [DEI] or at the bank there usually are long lines and delays. Moreover, if the payment date is past due, then the delay is still greater since the full payment must be made at a certain neighborhood office or at the main office.

The National Bank [of Greece] has decided to eliminate this inconvenience and has begun with DEI. The plan, as bank president Evth. Khristodoulou explained to EPIKAIRA, may sound somewhat complicated but in fact is very simple. In any event it eliminates the "anxiety," the lines, the loss of time and the hardships, especially if the bills are past due.

Following meetings with DEI and the consumers, the bank will accept payment of the bills--not in hundreds of thousands of paper receipts whose printing and mailing is expensive, but through [the use of] magnetic cassettes each one of which contains thousands, if not tens of thousands, of accounts. The cassette is placed in the computer which automatically debits the bill to each DEI consumer.

Necessary Deposit

The following basic preconditions are necessary for the system to operate: The consumer must agree to the application of the new system (if not he will continue paying his bills in the old way) and he must have a small deposit (albeit 10,000 drachmas) in the National Bank (savings or demand deposit

accounts). This way DEI will charge the bill to the bank account instead of entering it in its ledgers. DEI will record the charge on a cassette and will collect the amount when surrendering it to the bank without a single consumer having to leave his home or stand nervously and impatiently in long lines. The bank will then send the consumer a notice reporting payment of the bill and the balance of his account.

Automatic Borrowing

But what will happen if the balance is exhausted or the consumer forgets to deposit more money? According to Khristodoulou the bank will continue paying the bill of the consumer, lending him up to a certain amount--50 percent, for instance, of the original deposit--and charging him interest, of course. Again the bank will notify the consumer not only about the lack of funds in his account but also about this automatic borrowing and the limits of such borrowing. "It is self-understood," he said, "that all these small deposits [by the consumer] will be interest bearing, that the consumer will receive on the balance of his account the same interest paid for savings accounts, etc. And he will pay interest on the money the bank lends him if his balance runs out."

150 New Windows

This system preassumes deposits by all homeowners metered by DEI and in order to facilitate those who have not yet opened a bank account the National Bank will establish in all quarters of Athens 150 more [walk-up] windows--small places, that is, with three to four employees besides its present thick network of branches and sub-branches so that consumers can find service right in their neighborhoods.

This way the Athenians (Athenian ladies especially) can eliminate the "payable bill" trouble. Of course all these consumers will become National Bank depositors. Besides, if the interest rate goes up this will be to their benefit also. The "inclination to save" will be generalized, the traffic at the banks and utility offices will end and the DEI costs will drop. The National Bank hopes that this system will be expanded later so as to include the Greek Telecommunications Organization and the Water Company.

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ALTHING PASSES TAX INCREASE LAW

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 3 May 80 p 29

[Excerpt] After heated discussions in the lower house of the Althing last Wednesday and Wednesday evening, lasting until 2:30 in the morning of the next day (1 May), the tax increase bill was finally passed by the Althing, with 20 majority votes against 18 minority votes. All proposals for amendments to the bill were defeated, generally at a vote of 20 to 19, but some at a vote of 19 to 19, so it could hardly have been closer. Increases in airport fees, both for domestic and international flights, were approved with 20 votes against 19. The absence of Gudmundur J. Gudmundsson (People's Alliance), and the question of how Valdimar Indridason, deputy to Chief Justice Fridjon Thordarson, cast his vote, caused tension in the Althing, both among the MP's and the newsmen, because the outcome of the matter depended on his position.

The Red Light

In the lobby of the Althing, and in the corridor of the parliamentary assembly hall, are rosters with red lights next to the name of each MP. For all of last Wednesday, Wednesday evening and into 2:30 am of the following day, 1 May, red lights were burning next to the names of 39 MP's of the lower chamber, which meant that those MPs were present in the building. The fortieth light bulb, the light indicating Gudmundur J. Gudmundsson (People's Alliance), the chairman of the United Labor Unions of Iceland, was dark. He was absent at the Althing that Wednesday as well as 2 and 1/2 hours into the next day, 1 May--as long as it took the lower house to pass the tax law and the government airport fee.

The absence of Gudmundur J. Gudmundsson (People's Alliance) created a situation in which, if the deputy chief justice Valdimar Indridason had cast his vote with the majority of the MP's of the Independence Party, the abovementioned government tax bills would have been defeated. It was a suspenseful situation for the newsmen and other spectators. The tax bills did manage to squeeze by, however, as mentioned above.

Issues Under Discussion

The opposition criticized the various tax increases severely, which they said would be inundating the people in the coming weeks in the form of increased income taxes, increased agricultural subsidies, increased sales taxes, and other programs which will cause higher prices. The supporters of these measures, however, said that societal conditions and the state of the government budget could not permit any deviations from their proposed policy.

The Social Democratic Party's MP's made much of the fact that the tax increase bill and the airport fee would have been defeated if the above-mentioned substitute MP of the Independence Party had voted with the majority of his party. The Independence Party was thus partially responsible for the tax increases which its representatives had criticized so passionately. Despite their resolution to defeat all tax increases of the leftist government, they were now saddled with a sufficient number of additional Independence Party members who supported the tax policy of the Social Democrats and the Progressives.

Geir Hallgrímsson (Independence Party) and other Independence Party MPs presented the amendment proposals of the party's representatives in the economics committee meeting of the lower chamber, which proposals were in agreement with the policies agreed upon at the party's national convention and laid out in the party's campaign platform. "If these proposals are defeated, the Independence Party's MP's will not be responsible for the new tax policy. The so-called leftist government tax programs have always been passed, in their time, with the support of the Social Democratic Party, which at those times was participating in the government, and they have never been retracted when that party was a minority part of the government. The Social Democratic Party has played a significant role and bears its share of the responsibility in all of this tax mess," Geir Hallgrímsson said.

1 May Laws of the Government

Geir Hallgrímsson said that these 1 May laws of the government were a "cold greeting" to the salaried workers on the workers' holiday, and that the tax policy was an economic matter which would have its effect on people's living standards whether it involved direct taxes (agricultural subsidies, income taxes and government health care) which would be imposed as coming out of earned salaries, or indirect taxes in the prices of goods, which would naturally have an effect on the buying power of salaries. He said that it was obvious that this government "greeting" would make a negative contribution to negotiations in the labor market, where loose and uncertain agreements were currently in effect. The tax policy would also affect the professions, and would be a hindrance to the professions' efforts to build themselves up to meet the people's employment needs and the increase in production which, if achieved, could improve Iceland's standard of living. Excess taxation would also continue to lead to corruption and attempts at tax evasion, and would work against the goals which have been set to combat inflation.

GOVERNMENT PRESENTS FINANCE BILL, ASKS FOREIGN LOANS

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 4 May 80 p 32

[Text] The government presented the investment and loan funds program for 1980 to the Althing yesterday afternoon (Saturday). To go along with the program, the Economics Committee has drawn up a new economic forecast for 1980. A 1 and 1/2 percent increase in the gross national product is anticipated, but the national income will remain constant. According to the forecast, the portion of the gross national product is anticipated, but the national income will remain constant. According to the forecast, the portion of the gross national product which will be invested will be 26 and 1/2 percent. It is considered probable that there will be an estimated 16 billion kronur loss in the balance of trade, or 1-1 and 1/2 percent of the gross national product. The forecast says that if this loss is greater than is anticipated, it will be necessary later in the year to decrease profits. Foreign loans will come to a total of 85.5 billion kronur, and the burden of payment of foreign debts this year will be approximately 16 percent of export income.

It is anticipated that the total gross national product in 1980 will be 1,230 billion kronur, and that investments will amount to 327 billion. Profits from electricity plants and services, of which the Hrauneyjafoss plant is expected to be the most productive, will increase approximately 46 percent. Cod production is expected to amount to 380 to 400 thousand tons, compared with 360 thousand tons last year.

It has been proposed to obtain 73,833 million kronur on loan for the purpose of strengthening public profits for this year. Out of the 35 billion kronur necessary for government progress, it is expected that approximately 23 billion will be obtained domestically. If this obtaining of funds is approved, it is proposed (among other things) that funds from the social security treasury to be earmarked for increases in government progress will amount to 6 billion kronur. It is anticipated that the social security fund could loan a total of 21.5 billion kronur from its expected 50-billion-kronur treasury within the bounds of the new loan funds program. The total of the loan money gains to be made domestically, according to the program, is a scant 53 billion.

In 1976 the burden of payment on long-term foreign loans was 13.8 percent of export income, in 1977 13.7 percent, in 1978 13.3 percent, and in 1979 14.2 percent; this year it is expected to be 16 to 17 percent. Long-term foreign loans amounted to 335 billion kronur by the end of 1979, but [words illegible].

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SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY DEPENDS ON GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD in Dutch 19 Apr 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Nico van Grieken: "The Battle of Billions Over Building New Ships"]

[Text] It all began in the mid-sixties. The Dutch shipbuilders asked and received help—a very prudent interest-free arrangement. Now 15 years later the world of shipyards, docks, rivets, keels, cranes and propellers is being subsidized by the government's easy gold.

In recent years hundreds of millions have been gushing out of The Hague's banks and overall estimates are putting this at about 2 billions. However, the end of the government's subsidy is not yet in sight and if the present world demand for ships does not improve the government will have to sink another billion in new shipbuilding in the next 4 or 5 years.

But Holland stands on the verge of missing the boat even if more ships will have to be built. Notwithstanding Japan's cheap prices, the FRG is threatening to win the subsidy battle over the shipbuilding market from Holland. Despite all the millions in order subsidies and loss sharing our country is still too expensive.

On 28 October 1977 a chauffeur of the Ministry of Economic Affairs was driving the former director general of industry, Mr J.A.M. Molkenboer, to the northern part of the country.

The destination was Zuidelaren and this was where the northern shipbuilders, united in the Combination of Northern Shipbuilders, here and there were celebrating a holiday in a somewhat suppressed mood. The Combination of Northern Shipbuilders (CONOSHIP) had existed for 25 years and because of

his official signature Molkenboer had frequently made a better impression, even in the depressed shipbuilding industry, than many of the scribbles of a president-director and was respected for putting up a good fight.

The subject of this trip was the future of Holland's shipbuilding industry. Molkenboer: "According to some people, whose forecasting is hopefully too gloomy, there will not be any talk of equilibrium until 1984. But will Holland's shipbuilding industry make it to 1984? In Orwell's book 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' the Ministry of Economic Affairs is referred to as the Ministry of Plenty. I warned that this should have not been translated too literally in Holland in 1977. There are definite limitations even in 'plenty.'" Molkenboer kept the festive Zuidlaren people in suspense until the last moment of his holiday speech. "Will Holland's shipbuilding make it to 1984? I am of the opinion that shipbuilding can make it to 1984 although this will be attended by a great many problems. We will have to throw all of our resourcefulness into this battle and we must have 100 percent team work. Only then we shall make it to 1984."

Along with his successor, Director General for Industry Leliveld, Molkenboer, the present government's observer for the many concerns needing government aid, is now in Japan and will be there until the end of April, among other reasons, for the purpose of paving the way for the trip to be undertaken by Premier Van Agt and Foreign Minister Van der Klaauw.

Of course what is hoped for is the continuation of Japanese-Dutch contacts, but most of all a more far-reaching agreement with regard to the Fokkers F29 project. It goes without saying that the members of the government and their high officials will also be taking a look at some of Japan's super-modern shipyards in Nagasaki and Yokohama. These are shipyards which were established not only for speedy and lucrative series type construction, as was the case in the sixties and early seventies, but were also equipped for the construction of special "sophisticated" large seagoing vessels.

Still More Support

Three years after Molkenboer's address in Zuidlaren the Dutch shipbuilding industry came to know more forcibly than ever before that the conglomerate of shipyards, drawing rooms, metal industries and machine factories would make it to 1984...and how it would do so, namely, with still more support and with even fewer employees--no question about that.

Four years after the establishment of the Ship Construction Policy Commission, a commission where government, industrialists and trade unions sat together, the Dutch Shipbuilding Industry Foundation (which is the fountain of knowledge of the shipbuilding world) in a letter to His Excellency the Minister of Economic Affairs notes: "...now to be confronted with the most far-reaching episode since the shipbuilding crisis began: the government's decision to abandon the establishment of the Rotterdam Offshore and Shipbuilding Combine [ROS]."

Thirteen years after the establishment of and the report by the Keyzer (the present chairman of the General Broadcasting Association) Commission which led to the creation of the SNSI and through which former Minister of Economic Affairs Bakker proposed to the interim cabinet of Zijlstra a compromise aimed at accommodating the shipbuilding industry with an interest-free arrangement and 13 years after the early beginnings of the shipbuilding subsidy, the SNSI (and therefore the shipbuilders) also discovered that the failure to establish ROS need not have a negative effect on the other shipyards, "provided that these were able to count on a continuous industry policy based on a system of generic subsidy."

In the name of the foundation's management, OGEM manager K. Fibbe voiced the opinion that "by necessity a timely extra element" must be added to the otherwise still poorly handled subject of discussion of generic subsidy for the industries of Van de Giessen-de Noord and INC-Holland.

In his letter of 8 April Fibbe goes on to say: "There is now more reason than ever not to allow a relatively healthy portion of Dutch shipbuilding to become the victim of the construction problem of very large ships and the same goes for offshore material. We draw to the attention of Your Excellency very emphatically that in the most modern, and in a given case to be modernized, shipyards in the vicinity of Rotterdam (among other things putting a roof over the Van der Giessen-de Noordshipyard, the YVC and INC Smit,NvG) there exists a personnel requirement which could be filled almost completely by the potential of experts released from the shutdown production divisions which had previously been intended to form the ROS."

As SNSI's letter to Van Ardenne concludes, carrying out the cabinet's resolve with respect to its policy could lead to the restoration of that "element of assurance" for the employees of the Dutch shipbuilding industry "so that in so doing that branch of industry will retain its attractiveness for the young employee and potential expert."

Industrial Existence

Japan, 1984, supermodern shipyards, Molkenboer, ROS, Van Ardeene, generic subsidy, Keyzer Commission, interest-free arrangement and continued industrial policy...How sick is Holland's shipbuilding industry? For how long has it been so and for how much longer? In the meantime, how much money has the patient cost and how expensive will the new treatment be? Must the Dutch government continue for much longer to support a generally unprofitable branch of industry through thick and thin? If so, what is the situation with the rest of sick Dutch industry? So in a very deep sense this is the dimension of the present shipbuilding problem: If the shipyards are being shored up with hundreds of millions per year, then why not OKTO? At one time why not the textile industry--a branch of industry which now has only a shamefully low 15 percent of its former capacity and must lead a moribund existence?

Along the line of the Rotterdam Offshore and Shipbuilding Combine, there are also the Koninklijke Scholten Honig and the other starch giant, the Avebe.

Whoever talking about ROS is also talking about the problem threatening the petrochemical industry where insecurity is gripping the refineries as a result of the building of refineries in the OPEC countries.

Thinking of continued support to ROS, and thus to the industry for building large new ships, is also thinking of Holec, the electrotechnical concern which has its hands full with both the problem children of Heemaf and Coq in Utecht. And what about VMF Stork, Vredestein and Fokker?

But the fact remains that no branch of industry has been knocking at the door of the tellers of Economic Affairs and National Investment Bank in past years more than the Dutch shipbuilding industry. Up until now many hundred millions have been pumped into it. Overall figures come up to about 2 billion gulden and this is money which has been strawn by the bucketful over Dutch shipyards since 1976.

The end of the gigantic money flow is not in sight by a long shot. During the coming 4 or 5 years serious consideration must be given to another billion or so in government subsidy if the world market prospect remains as bad as it is now. But if 1984 will not bring about the equilibrium predicted by some people, then without exaggeration the charge can be made that what is going on right now is that the Dutch government (in this instance the Ministry of Economic Affairs) is committing 2 billion gulden for the entire stretch of the eighties for allotment to Dutch shipbuilding--something which lies heavily on everybody's stomach, but without anybody knowing what to do about it. Rebuffing is socially unacceptable, but continuation will cost billions in taxation.

Okto

Hesitatingly, Van Houwelingen, CDA [Christian Democratic Action] stated that, to be sure, hundreds of millions of gulden per year could be spared for Dutch shipbuilding: "Let me put it this way: I would rather have new shipbuilding on its feet than Okto in Groningen."

As far as Houwelingen is concerned, the thing which also plays a role besides the social element is the strategic element. "If we put an end to the new construction of large ships then we will be left with 60 percent of the capacity of June 1976. Well then, for me that's the limit. The strategic point has been broached. You cannot assume a lower position. Moreover, I still have the feeling that putting an end to the ship industry will signal the beginning of the end."

Parliamentarians have been occupied with the shipbuilding problem and with ROS for a week and a half now. "Thus you just get to note how little you know about all this and how complicated and mixed up the whole matter now stands."

So he is being called upon to come up with a new industry policy. An industry sector note, an innovation note and an energy note...all these

are insufficient; there must be a "visionary policy with respect to Dutch industrial development," Van Houwelingen: "Germany is very protective of its industry as is also the United States. Why not Holland?" Perhaps the best answer to this would be: Because Holland with its open economy and its dependence on imports and exports is surely in a position to develop a vision, but no more than that. The vision of an industrial policy can never be implemented. If the United States and the FRG suffer from influenza then a half day later Holland will be coughing along with them.

Confining ourselves to new shipbuilding: As long as Holland remains substantially more expensive than Japan (itself experiencing very stiff competition from countries such as Taiwan and Korea) and as long as the FRG can offer its production at a cheaper price than ours, then Holland may be glad to be able to build ships with government support; but then, if Van Aardenne's mighty coffera so decree, the wheels of this industry will keep on being completely still.

Lately this has been the case with the ROS. A subsidy amounting to 350 million gulden (250 plus 100 million extra) on behalf of job opportunities for 1,600 people would amount to something like 220,000 gulden per job slot and Van Aardenne finds this to be too much.

If ROS is dying and no more than something like 275 million gulden are at stake (the 135 millions already used plus the remainder of 115 million and the 30 millions for covering closing costs) then the adventure will have cost the government about 170,000 gulden per job slot.

The Job Slots

The 2 billions which the new ship construction has slurped since the setting up of the tripartite government advisory college, the Shipbuilding Policy Commission, kept the work force of 16,000 men going.

As compared with the end of 1975, when 25,100 people were still employed there, this represents a drop from 35.9 percent to 64.1 percent. The cost per job slot, 125,000 gulden. This cost has run up to 170,000 gulden per job slot, if this is computed with that of 3,500 people who directly or indirectly are involved in the construction of navy ships. In fact here there is always talk of extra support for ship construction by the Ministry of Defense.

Where has this support led us? Have the loss-sharing, the order-acquisition measures, investment subsidies, special support, postponed loan payments and compensation for restructuring costs...has all this been for nothing? In any case, this emergency dressing has not led to a healthy and profitable branch of industry. The salient point is that bringing up the construction of navy ships for the shipyards of Wilton Fijenoord and KMS, to be sure, has provided 4 or 5 years of work, but has also provided for a most unstable situation.

Both RSV shipyards with a total workforce of 2,700 have been dedicated to the construction of warships in recent times. Civilian shipbuilding has been dropped. The result: a reduced basis and thus, according to insiders...a dangerous situation. In 2 years the last frigate will be leaving the dock and the keels for new ships will have to be laid. However, nobody knows how to provide for the gaps which will be coming up here. In shipbuilding, orders must be placed on file a year ahead of time and in the meanwhile there is a search for civilian orders, so it seems. There is a demand, so says an insider.

Shipyards which are doing reasonably well despite the terrible state of affairs are: Van der Giessen-de Noord (2,100 people, inclusive of new construction and repairs, a shipyard for large ships up to about 280 meters), the IHC Holland (technologically speaking especially highly qualified for dredger contracts, 2,500 people), shipyards such as De Merwede (500 people, average- to large-size ships up to 200 meters), the IJsselvliet Combine (YVC) and nearly the entire North Holland group of shipyards where about 2,000 people are working and also some industries along the large rivers which are doing well.

What is above all true for Van der Giessen-de Noord (1,780 people in new construction) is that on 1 July 1980 the so-called "grace period" runs out. This is an irksome date in view of the ROS affair and the impending liquidation of the VDSM shipyard at Rozenburg. The "grace period" was agreed to by the Bakker Commission (subsequent to the Keyzer and Winsemius commissions which had set up the merger of Rijn-Schelds-Verlome). The stipulation had been made that Van der Giessen-de Noord would allow the VDSM RSV Shipyard to operate on its market.

In other words, if the grace period had not been agreed upon and if the VDSM were not to have been able to work on a loss-sharing basis on such a gigantic scale (according to insiders, on more than one occasion the government had to dish out 40 gulden per man-hour for the orders) then the axe would have already fallen on the VDSM-shipyard sometimes earlier. Moreover, the "grace period" can be extended every time for 1 year. Dutch shipbuilding has always been characterized as an industry which has largely been made possible through government aid. The infusion of generic aid should only facilitate a degree of helpfulness. In the long run, the lending of generic help must take the place of order subsidies and loss sharing. At this moment, the thinking is in terms of a minimum of 5 percent aid for contract orders amounting to 5 millions and then running up to 15 percent for a contract order of 30 million gulden. For orders running to more than 30 millions the maximum aid is 15 percent.

Among official heads of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and among those of the SNSI there is an acute awareness of the fact that switching over to generic support, whereby officials of BZ [Foreign Affairs] and Finance ought to be bothered less with computations of loss sharing per man-hour, is not at all sufficient for keeping the shipbuilding industry's head above water.

The Netherlands Shipbuilding Industry Foundation intended to say as much in its letter to Van Aardenne dated 8 April: "...for the industries of Van der Giessen-de Noord and IHC-Holland generic support must contain an extra element over the norm which is to be established."

120 Million Extra

Engineer M.A.P. de Lange, director of the SNSI, estimates that an extra subsidy of 100 to 120 millions above the generic annual subsidy of 100 million gulden must be granted: for loss sharing, acquisition subsidies and investments support.

Just figure on about 250 millions per year...this is the message which is also meant for the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Thus, by the mid-eighties Dutch shipbuilding will have cost the national government another billion gulden.

Unless...unless the market gets better; then the amount of subsidy will later climb by another billion. There are no great expectations, but everywhere in the shipbuilding world there are positive reports. Director J.U. Smit of Van Giessen-de Noord is working out the more favorable prices which will be determined at least on the basis that the situation on the world market improves. Just as was the case at the end of the sixties and start of the seventies there are expectations of world demand which Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese shipbuilding yards will not be able to cope with on their own.

It will be noted that at that time it was not a matter of price, but a matter of delivery schedules which got Dutch competitors into the market. There was no getting away from the fact that when the Japanese shipbuilding yard had to show the customer a next line order showing a waiting period of 3 years the shipowner had to turn to Holland where he turned out to be the next in line to have his keel laid down.

Another closer look at present and future market perspective, however, indicates that a noisy rejoicing is out of place. According to the figures put out by the Association of Western European Shipbuilders (AWES) the world's ship production in 1975 amounted to 19.5 million compensated gross registered tons (CGRT). Western European shipyards accounted for 7.5 million tons or 39 percent of this. However, in 1980 world production is estimated at 11.8 million tons and of this AWES shipyards will get only 3.9 million tons, or 31 percent. It is now being estimated that production for 1985 will come up to 17 million CGRT. West European shipyards, to say nothing of the Dutch ones, will be able to profit from this by only a morsel: 5.2 million tons representing a drop in the market share to 30 percent.

Front Limitations

For Director De Lange of the SNSI these figures speak volumes. "This is how the situation appears to be. To a large extent, Dutch shipbuilding is

still having a problem. If the ROS does not make it through and therefore a portion of shipbuilding disappears from the RSV that will be a well-considered consolidation of the front. We will still be at the front. In the coming years we will have to keep on looking for creative solutions. Namely the trade unions shall keep the possibility of an ad hoc solution open besides wanting generic support. We must consolidate and innovate."

Holland is still expecting a decade full of financial and socioeconomic shipbuilding pains. If the world market becomes more promising, Holland will hardly be able to profit from the increased demand. Moreover, with the help of the government the shipyards of the FRG will be able to offer cheaper prices than Holland and, what is more, the official delegation from the Ministry of Finance to the Shipbuilding Policy Commission is still carrying on with just one slogan: "Keep your hand on the scissors."

The question which keeps coming up more frequently, especially as a result of the ROS affair, is whether and for how long shipbuilding must be subsidized. The officialdom of Economic Affairs expects that perhaps shipbuilding will become a paying business again during the second half of the eighties. A continuing decrease in capacity, from what it was in 1975 when the building of new ships offered work to 25,100 people, cannot be avoided. Even as of now this capacity has dropped to 64.1 percent and a further decrease to 50 percent is in the realm of reality. Social, economic, strategic and industrial-economic elements are playing their not-so-narrow role in the difficult and costly operation called: "Save Holland's shipbuilding Yards." Director De Lange of the SNSI: "Why then so much effort... you ask me, and then purely for the sake of argument you say: Just finish with the shipyards and don't cram so much more money into them."

Optimum

"I could agree with you completely if it were not for the fact that we have the feeling that the ship construction market is becoming attractive again. The answer is not to be found by getting too sensitive about this. If your decision is not to support shipbuilding any longer, then you are implying that no more ships will be built and this at a time when there is talk of the growing requirement for means of transportation. Holland has always been a shipbuilding nation and somehow there exists a probable, but never definable sociological optimum, suggesting that shipbuilding in this country is here to stay. The interplay on the changing international division of labor demands strategy and not defeatism."

And so: Will Dutch shipbuilding make it to 1984? Certainly and absolutely and even 1989 as well. But the government must leave the money bailing pump wide open. On the assumption that the number of employees in new shipbuilding will keep on declining to 14,000, each job slot will be costing the government 70,000 gulden by 1985.

Now is that not just a sip from a drink compared to the 220,000 gulden per job slot at the ROS? Holland's shipbuilding will indeed make it to 1984, but let those who wish to sink sink along with us...

DEMOCRACY IN SURINAM SUBJECT TO EROSION, SAYS VAN AGT

Second Chamber Supports Van Agt

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 May 80 p 1

[Text] Den Haag, 13 May--The Second Chamber publicly supports Prime Minister Van Agt's criticism that democracy in Surinam is subject to erosion. During oral discussions with the government in the standing committee on foreign affairs, a more active policy of the Dutch government was urged from various quarters.

Dr F. Bolkenstein, VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] foreign affairs expert, whose motion that the government must strive for restoration of democracy was accepted by the chamber this February, said that Van Agt had spoken "too mildly." Gualtherie van Weezel, CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal], said that "things are threatening to get even more out of hand in Surinam."

Ambassador

Chin A Sen, prime minister of Surinam, yesterday called the Dutch criticism an intervention in Surinam affairs. He called the Dutch ambassador to account for it. "Prime Minister Van Agt's statements run counter to the plans of the Surinam government, which is already doing all it can to guarantee peace, order, and personal safety in Surinam," Chin A Sen told the Dutch Ambassador.

Since the military coup in Surinam the [Dutch] government has assumed an attitude of watchful waiting. Not long ago Vice Prime Minister Wiegel dismissed criticism in the Second Chamber of interference with democratic order in Surinam as "nit-picking."

In the Second Chamber the Dutch involvement in Surinam is defended--against Surinam criticism--on the basis of the development relationship with the country, the attack on democratic order, and the presence of Dutch citizens in the country.

The Labor Party called for trying to influence the normalization of democratic conditions through political contacts. D'66 [Democrats of '66] urged the government to enter into discussions with the National Military Council [the Surinam junta].

Pronk Denies Involvement in Counter-Coup

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 13 May 80 p 4

[Report by special correspondent Rudie Kagie: "Surinam Coup Betrayer Implicates Ex-Minister Pronk"]

[Text] Amsterdam/Paramaribo, 13 May--Dr J. Pronk, former Dutch minister of development aid, is alleged to have promised 300,000 guilders in support to Fred Ormskerk, the leader of an unsuccessful coup d'état in Surinam. The statement was made by frank-spoken Johan Cornelis Krol, 36, a former Dutch soldier and a prime suspect in the plot against the new Surinam government, at a press conference yesterday in Paramaribo..

Krol gave away Ormskerk's plans to the National Military Council, whereupon the leader of the counter-coup was executed. The suspect asserted that he was to have been rewarded with a sum of 60,000 guilders, and after the success of the coup would also have been promoted to sergeant.

J. Pronk, former Dutch minister and now a Labor member of the Second Chamber, yesterday evening called the statements by the suspect "too senseless to react to." Pronk said, "I had never heard of Ormskerk until he got in the news. I consider this accusation just a minor incident."

The widow of the slain ex-warrant officer Ormskerk, who possessed Dutch nationality, spoke yesterday at her home in Ermelo of the good relations between her husband and Krol, who had established himself in the last few years as an independent plumber in Paramaribo. "Krol was his support and his refuge; the best friend he had in Surinam," Mrs Ormskerk said.

Warned

One of Ormskerk's friends living in the Netherlands, on the other hand, called it "very conceivable" that Krol had abandoned his comrade in arms. "I have always warned Ormskerk against that man. He seemed to me to be an untrustworthy type. I would think it a pity if it turned out that I was right."

The Surinamers Roy Bottse and Johan Kasantaroeno were named at the press conference as "nerve center" of the ill-fated action. Bottse was a sergeant in the Surinam army and fled to the Netherlands on 25 February, the day of the coup d'état. Kasantaroeno was minister of agriculture in the ousted Arron cabinet.

From his hiding place in the Netherlands, Kasantaroeno confirmed last evening that he had spoken with Pronk. "I looked him up in the Second Chamber shortly after the coup. It was a fleeting contact in which I said that I was concerned over developments in Surinam." Kasantaroeno denies any involvement in Ormskerk's plans.

According to Badreissan Sital, chairman of the NMR [National Military Council], besides Pronk, Bottse, and Kasantaroeno, a representative of the Venezuelan embassy, "somebody from France," and two South Moluccans were involved in the coup. The South Moluccan Movement of 20 May, which operates from the Netherlands, yesterday again denied rumors that they were involved in the action. An attempt is being made to bring a libel suit against journalists that have spread this report that blew across from Surinam.

Questioning

With regard to the cause of Ormskerk's death it was said yesterday that the warrant officer, who "was known to be violent," tried to escape during questioning. Ormskerk is said not to have survived the hand-to-hand fight that resulted. No firearms were used.

A different version of the events was given initially in military circles in Paramaribo. A commando unit led by Sgt Hadjo Prajitno was said to have gone toward Albina early in the evening of Friday 2 May with the assignment of summarily shooting Ormskerk to death. The deceased's body was subjected to an autopsy. The results of the autopsy were not reported at the press conference.

Confession

Rufus Nooitmeer, chairman of the NPK [expansion unknown] delegation in parliament, is said to have made a complete confession, from which it appeared that he was informed about the counter-coup at an early stage and wanted to lend his assistance. NPK politicians Fedor Bottse and Theo Bean are also being detained in the Memre-Boekoe Barracks and are charged as accomplices. The military council showed checks totaling 6 million guilders. They were to have been used to finance weapons procurement and the payroll of the mercenary army. The mercenary army was to consist of about 200 men. It had not yet been fully recruited.

Mercenaries

The military police are looking for a group of about 30 mercenaries who have not yet had a chance to get out of the country. Some 40 machine guns were shown with which it was planned to open fire on 15 May on 60 prominent persons in the new Surinam, including all members of the NMR. It is possible that these are the batch of weapons that were stolen on 13 April from the munitions depot of the Memre-Boekoe Barracks.

Papers found on Ormskerk revealed what the new cabinet of Surinam was to look like after the success of the counter-coup. All of the ministers of the Arron government were to return to their posts. Only the ministry of defense was to have been headed by a new man--G. Lapree, a former KNIL [Royal Dutch Indies Army?] soldier living in the Netherlands. He was said to have been Ormskerk's "military ideal."

8815

CSO: 3105

SOCIALIST-LEFT PARTY BRINGS NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 7 May 80 p 7

[Article: "SV Wanted To Bring Down Labor Government"]

[Text] Yesterday for the first time, the Socialist-Left Party (SV) brought a vote of no confidence against the Labor Party government. In the end, the party's proposal received only five votes. SV's own two representatives voted for it, as did Odd Einar Dorum of the Liberal Party, and Erland Asdahl and Ola O. Rossum of the Center Party. Johan J. Jakobsen of the Center Party made clear that he did not wish to make a final judgment in this question until the government has presented its final evaluation of the Alexander Kielland mishap. This cannot occur before fall, when the commission of inquiry has completed its work.

"We cannot have confidence in a government that is unwilling to take the consequences of the circumstances that have arisen," said SV's parliamentary leader Hanna Kvanmo. The party demanded a complete turnaround in oil activity. The party's demands included a plan for nationalization, rejection of drilling starts in the north, no distribution of new blocks, and a reduction in the level of expansion and production.

"The rate of development must be reduced to a level that authorities and those involved in oil activity can manage," Kvanmo said.

And it was not only SV that strongly attacked the government's oil policy yesterday. Representatives from the Center Party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian People's Party were also, in part, harsh in their criticism.

"After the accident with the Alexander Kielland, so many reprehensible circumstances have been revealed that they must have an influence on the activity," said Reidar Due (Center Party).

A proposal by Due on behalf of his own party, the Liberal Party, and the Christian People's Party, which among other things would have led to a postponement of drilling in the north, was defeated by 97 votes to 34. The Center Party also received support from several Conservative Party representatives.

"The accident has revealed that the improbable can occur," said Inger Lise Skarstein (Conservative) and she opposed the spread of oil exploration to new areas.

ICE BREAKER TO SAIL ON RESEARCH TRIP TO ARCTIC

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 29 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by Lars Hellberg]

[Text] On 25 June, just over a century after Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld safely passed through the Northeast Passage in the "Vega," the state-owned icebreaker "Ymer" will leave Swedish waters with destination Tromsø, from which it will embark this summer on the most extensive polar expedition Swedish researchers and sailors have ever undertaken.

Due to the (accidental?) joint efforts of the Soviet Bureaucracy and that country's security interests, the voyage will not be the anniversary celebration it was originally intended to be. But, by way of compensation, researchers believe the expedition's scientific value will be many times greater, thanks to the Russians' opposition.

Originally, the "Ymer," which is currently operating among the much more easily-managed ice masses of the Gulf of Bothnia, would have followed the voyage of the "Vega" through the Northeast Passage to the Bering Strait, then returned through the Northwest Passage.

"But not this time," says the scientific leader of the expedition, Prof. Valter Schytt. The Swedish polar researchers have not yet received an answer to their request to the Soviet authorities in 1977. And without formal Soviet approval they see no reason to cause problems by entering the waters north of Siberia.

Instead, together with a considerable number of foreigners--"non-Swedish researchers," as Schytt prefers to call them--they will tackle the ice masses around Svalbard, Greenland, Kvitoya, Frans Josef's Land, in short, what researchers call the European portion of the Arctic Basin.

A total of 105 researchers, including 35 non-Swedes, are participating in the expedition under the leadership of the chief of operations, the recently retired chief of the Swedish navy, Admiral Bengt Lundvall. Cooperation with the Norwegian Polar Institute is very good, say the Swedish researchers who have been at our disposal during the demonstration cruise up here in the

Participants in the expedition. Among the Norwegian participants participating in the aborted anniversary voyage are Professors Arne Foldvik from Bergen and Jørn Thiede from Oslo. Polar bear researcher Thor Larsen is a third Norwegian participant.

Researchers from all over the world have stood in line to join the voyage. The polar adventure appeals to both the boyhood dream and the more serious dream of penetrating into the secrets of the ice masses. Although, with respect to the boyhood dream, it must be said that there is a world of difference between the conditions Nordenskiöld had to endure over 100 years ago when the "Vega" became caught in the grip of the ice in 1878 and came loose only after a long winter, and the comfort today's Swedish ice-breaker offers its guests.

But in between planning sessions for their scientific studies, the researchers are reading with bleary eyes about Nansen, Nordenskiöld, and many others. A writer is also along on the voyage--former member of parliament and member of the Swedish Academy Per Olof Sundman--who has been specially engaged to write about the adventure, 100 years after Nordenskiöld. As we know, Sundman received a Nordic literary prize a few years ago for his book about another Swedish polar explorer, the engineer Andre. As we know, he met his end in a balloon on Kvitoya.

The program is jammed full of activities. With the many research interests that must be satisfied in a relatively brief period of time up to the end of September, it has been necessary to schedule practically every type of activity.

Samples will be taken of animal life 4,000 meters under the surface of the ocean as well as from the actual ocean floor. The research program includes studies of the air masses over the Arctic region, marine biology, and the significance of the ice masses for changes in climate.

The expedition is extremely important for geological research because the polar regions are seen as the key to climate development. It is hoped that, with the help of sediment samples from the ocean floor, a conclusive answer will be found to the question of how far north the Scandinavian land ice extended during the last ice age 10,000 years ago.

For biologists the polar basin is at least as important, since the area has been covered with ice a relatively short time, to use the researchers' concept of time--to be more precise, perhaps "only" 3 million years. This, in turn, has led to significant changes in species--evolution which researchers hope to be able to evaluate on a time scale.

Will forms of life be found here that exist elsewhere at great ocean depths or will species be found that are peculiar to the polar region? The questions are many. Which pathways do polar bears follow to return to the surface? Researchers hope to answer this question by, among other things, equipping any polar bears they might find with radio transmitters.

The Swedish polar adventure of our time will cost somewhere between 10 and 15 million Swedish kroner. With the alternative route that has been planned, which involves more interesting research, the researchers we talked with have no doubt that the results they are counting on achieving are well worth the price. When we ask if they believe they would have received the money if it had not been for the 100 year anniversary of the "Vega's" voyage, the answers vary greatly. It is perhaps a question of a unique common interest between Swedish national self-assertion in a prosaic age, serious international research interests, and Soviet (military?) bureaucracy. In any case, the Nordenskiöld connection and the route of the voyage are dictated by the lack of a Soviet answer to a polite letter, but the profiteers are obviously serious international research interests.



The "Ymer" was supposed to have followed the course of the "Vega" (see arrow) but instead the ship will head for Svalbard and Greenland (shaded area).

9336

CSO: 3108

SENATOR REACTS TO DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 80 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara--Quota Senator Hilmi Firat, chairman of the senate investigations committee dealing with defense installations in Turkey, stated, "The defense installations at Belbasi, Sinop, Pirinçlik, and Incirlik have been found to be serving in accordance with the goals for their foundation, and it is understood that they are under the control and supervision of the Republic of Turkey."

Firat said that the meeting he called yesterday was not a "press conference," but was merely a meeting at which he was giving a "statement." He asserted that his "friends from the press know the reason for this." Before beginning his statement, which noted that the defense installations that exist in Turkey were established because there were none in the nation, Firat had a short talk with reporters. Firat said that his committee went everywhere and saw everything it wished to see at the defense installations. In response to the question, "Were there German shepherds in front of the gates at some of the sites you entered?" Firat replied, "Yes." The same newsmen then asked, "In that case, did members of the investigations committee see nuclear warheads?" Firat answered, "You know better than that." Firat's statement to the press was, in summary:

"With the exception of Incirlik, all of the installations are basically passive listening and communications facilities. In other words, there are no arms or munitions to attack another nation at the Sinop, Pirinçlik, Belbasi, or Karaburun installations.

Airplanes Cannot Take Off

"Coming to Incirlik, this is the only facility that possesses the quality of a military base. Like the other installations, it is also under the supervision and control of the government of the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, not one plane can leave this base without a flight plan prepared jointly beforehand, and, likewise, no plane can be equipped with arms without the knowledge and permission of the Turkish commandant. In essence, under existing agreements, no airplane in peacetime can be armed and used except for training purposes."

It was noted in the statement that there are five defense installations in Turkey. Fırat said, "In addition to the installations at Sinop, Belbasi, Pirincli, Karaburun, and Incirlik, there are several signal relay facilities. We, as the investigations commission, found it sufficient to see the installations other than these and Karaburun."

Fırat stated that the investigations commission is preparing a report and asserted that all of the aforementioned facilities are Turkish Armed Forces installations. Fırat went on, "The defense facilities' activities are limited by the responsibilities created through NATO. They cannot be used for purposes other than those allowed by the government of the Republic of Turkey."

11673

CSO: 4907

REVISIONS IN EC PROPOSALS WANTED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 31 May 80 p 9

[Text] It is reported that up to now deliberations in talks to "revitalize" relations with the EC have been very lengthy, but that they are to conclude as soon as possible, producing concrete and applicable results. Turkish delegate Ismet Birsael wants a series of "revisions" in the Community proposals, including in particular the "free circulation" of Turkish workers who live in Europe. Moreover, it has been proposed that the Association Council that was to meet [on the foreign ministers level] in Istanbul at an unspecified date is now to be convened in Brussels this July and this despite constant invitations by Ankara and the fact that the meeting has been postponed three times since April.

The points on which Turkey wants revisions in the Turkey-EC Association Council are as follows:

Turkey wants the proposal that provides for the complete abolition of the Community's customs duty on Turkish agricultural products within 6 calendar years reduced to 4 years. Turkey also wants its agricultural products, which carries a customs duty of 5 percent, to be introduced immediately in the Community duty free. Turkey, moreover, has proposed that the automatic duty on all products whose customs duty has fallen to 2 percent within 4 years be abolished.

West Germany wants the postponement of free circulation which will begin in 1986 according to the Association Agreement and it wants Ankara to accept the principle of sending workers only when employment is available. Turkey's counter proposal states that since there is no way this approach--which is tantamount to the cancellation of free circulation--can be acceptable, Turkish workers in Europe at this juncture will go to work, able to exercise free circulation within EC countries.

Turkey wants credit for projects in Turkey "to be kept at high levels in proportion to Turkish needs" in the Fourth Fiscal Protocol to begin after 1982.

CSO: 4907

INDICTMENT OF NAP FOR MARAS INCIDENTS WANTED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET In Turkish 13 May 80 p 5

[Text] Adana--At yesterday's hearing in the bloody Kahramanmaraş incidents' case, which has reached the decision-making phase, intervening attorneys submitted their opinions to the court and said that the incidents, which they stressed were "rebellions and massacres," were planned and carried out by the NAP [National Action Party].

In his 2-page opinion sent to the court, attorney Emin Deger, who represents the RPP [Republican People's Party] at the hearings, pointed to the NAP as basically responsible for the incidents and asked the court committee to "submit to the attorney general an indictment against the NAP."

Intervening attorneys who spoke at the session that began yesterday morning emphasized that the NAP's party banner bearing three crescents was carried in every neighborhood during the rioting and massacres and that a number of NAP administrators were leaders in the incidents. They reported that the Kahramanmaraş incidents were one-sided massacres.

The following summarized views were included in the 100 pages of opinions submitted in writing yesterday morning by intervening attorneys:

Planned Rebellion and Massacre

"The arrest of the mysterious Captain M. Ali Ceviker, who first appeared early in 1978, and of members of ETKO [expansion unknown] and the number, quality, procurement, storage, and distribution of arms used in the massacre demonstrate that the events were planned in advance. The incidents had, from the beginning, the state and government forces as targets. Attacks on police, soldiers, and state employees, the attack on the government building, slogans that circulated, and banners that were raised revealed that these actions were a mass rebellion.

"The Kahramanmaraş incidents were not reciprocal murders where two sides opposed each other, but were one-sided massacres. The provocation at the Cicek Cinema, the murder of two revolutionary teachers, the attack at the

funeral ceremony, the call for 'holy war,' and the massacre of Shiite Muslims and leftists after the Yorukselim District was surrounded were all one-sided attacks. Just as investigations demonstrated, evidence of the attacks still remain as monuments of rebellion and massacre. The homes that have been abandoned, that have been burned, that lie in ruin, and whose walls are riddled with bullet holes are the homes of Shiite Muslims and leftists.

Riot Flag with Three Crescents

"The NAP, in 1968, began to plan an anarchic and terrorist movement throughout the nation using militants trained at 28 commando-training camps established at various sites around the country. In the 1970's, this terrorism gradually increased as the NAP's influence and activities were helped by branches that had penetrated throughout Turkey.

"When the RPP came to power, the advantages possessed by the NAP within the nation were lost and the murders and terrorist crimes became public. Idealist militants siding with the NAP began to be pursued by the state security forces. A number of idealist perpetrators of murder and massacre were captured with evidence of their crimes, began to be tried in courts, and were given the death penalty. A number of indictments against the NAP were sent to the attorney general by the courts and prosecutors. The question of closing down the party and holding it responsible was placed on the agenda. This situation disturbed the NAP. It forced the party to make a final decision. The policy of 'either be the party in power or be a raven's carcass' became the official policy. No matter what it took, it was necessary to overthrow the RPP government. We can see this in the announcements and statements of all the NAP administrators, the chief of these being Turkes."

Attorneys Ali Kalan and Baris Yigit, who spoke at the hearing as representatives of intervening attorneys and who read opinions, listed facts related to the incidents:

"1. In all neighborhoods, the NAP's party banner bearing three crescents was used as a flag of rebellion and massacre.

"2. The NAP, which drew the three crescents on walls and the names of Turkes' parents were used as passwords and signals.

"3. A number of NAP members, administrators, and partisans acted as leaders in the riots and massacres.

"4. NAP auxiliary organizations played active roles in both the preparation for the massacres and riots and during the massacres.

"5. Throughout the incidents, the murderers shouted NAP slogans."

Indictment Against NAP

Intervening attorneys, who submitted opinions to the court committee, stated that it was the "NAP's goal to overthrow the government with these events" and requested that an indictment of the NAP be sent to the attorney general because "it was the cause of the riots and massacres in Kahramanmaraş." They also asked that NAP and UGD [expansion unknown] administrators who are charged in this case and those who led groups in the incidents with the NAP banner in their hands be tried under Article 149 of the Turkish Penal Code and with Article 168 as a guide.

During the first part of the afternoon session of the hearing, the intervening attorneys read their opinions. Following a recess, the session continued with the public prosecutor beginning to read his 145-page opinion. The reading will continue today.

Meanwhile, Huseyin Kil, one of the suspects, hooted loudly and meaningfully in the courtroom corridor as the afternoon session was beginning. He was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment by the court committee and was ushered out of the courtroom.

11673

CSO: 4907

274 DEATH SENTENCES ASKED IN MARAS TRIALS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 14 May 80 p 5

[Text] Adana--At yesterday's hearing on the Kahramanmaraş incidents, the military prosecutors read a 143-page opinion and asked for the death sentence for 274 -- eight of whom are women --, imprisonment of between 6 and 24 years at hard labor for 372, and acquittal for 84 of the 835 suspects.

The reading of the opinion began the day before yesterday and ended yesterday at 1330 hours. Following this, the floor was given to the suspects and the defense attorneys.

Besides their request to be set free, the accused and their attorneys asked that a period of time be allotted them to prepare the defense. The court committee reached the decision to release 31 of the suspects and to postpone the hearing until 2 June to give more time to the defense.

The opinion of military prosecutors Naval Judge Lieutenant Commander Ozcan Ozkan and Judge Lieutenant Commander Okan Yalcin Kaya assessed the various aspects of the incidents and stated, "In the Kahramanmaraş mass incidents, an armed riot and battle action took place collectively." It pointed out that "the incidents, at the same time, turned into an armed rebellion against government forces." The aggressors' attacks were part of a specific plan and were organized. They were actions against property and lives as well as against government forces. The aggressors first strafed the gendarme regiment building with bullets from automatic rifles, attacked the government building, and, in the meantime, opened fire on soldiers and scaled the military barricade set up in Kibris Square. The opinion went on:

"It is clear that, in the Kahramanmaraş mass incidents, it was the general intention of the suspects, who committed the crime of causing or participating in armed rebellion and massacre, to cause armed rebellion and massacre. All the accused knew that the actions in which they participated constituted armed rebellion and massacre. Just as they participated in these activities of their own free will, the large majority had guns and used them. All this constitutes premeditated crime. The witnesses and a

number of the accused declared at the hearing that the sound of gunfire came from every section of Maras. It is a fact that the suspects took part in actions for the purpose of killing Shiite Muslims, who are not of their sect; to harm them by setting fire to their homes and goods; to overwhelm the government forces that sought to prevent this; and to overthrow the government with these types of actions because it did not share their political views. The slogans that were utilized strengthens this view. They were 'Murderous government,' 'Communist Ecevit,' 'Send the communists to Moscow,' 'Commander Turkes,' 'Holy war,' 'Government must resign,' 'We want Kelles as minister of interior,' 'A Moslem Turkey,' 'Death to the communists,' 'Today is the day for holy war,' 'One who kills a Shiite Muslim goes to heaven,' and 'Death to the Shiite Muslims.'

"Suspects from the Shiite and Sunnite sects have declared war on one another, have entered an intense, armed battle, and have caused harm to the property and lives of one another."

11673

CSO: 4907

REGULATIONS ON PAYMENT IN LIEU OF MILITARY SERVICE GIVEN

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 80 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara--ANKA--A statement was released yesterday by the Ministry of National Defense dealing with application of the law that allows Turkish citizens employed abroad who have not fulfilled their military service obligation to substitute payment in the form of foreign exchange. The statement explained how the money will be paid, and, accordingly, the period of duty for these workers, who will serve as privates, will begin at the start of a 2-month basic training course and will end when all foreign-exchange installments have been paid.

In the statement regarding implementation of statutes of Substitute for Military Service Law No 2299, Ministry of National Defense Secretary General Staff Colonel Sinasi Esenturk reported that regulations have been drafted to deal with application of the law and are awaiting the signatures of the Council of Ministers' members.

The Ministry of National Defense statement announced how foreign exchange will be paid:

- [1.] Those who are 21 years old will pay one-ninth of the sum in advance and the remaining in eight equal payments.
- [2.] Those who are 22 years old will pay one-eighth of the sum in advance and the remaining in seven equal payments.
- [3.] Those who are 23 years old will pay one-seventh of the sum in advance and the remaining in six equal payments.
- [4.] Those who are 24 years old will pay one-sixth of the sum in advance and the remaining in five equal payments.
- [5.] Those who are 25 years old will pay one-fifth of the sum in advance and the remaining in four equal payments.

[6.] Those who are 26 years old will pay one-fourth of the sum in advance and the remaining in three equal payments.

[7.] Those who are 27 years old will pay one-third of the sum in advance and the remaining in two equal payments.

[8.] Those who are 28 years old will pay one-half of the sum in advance and the remaining the following year.

[9.] Those who are 29 years old will pay the entire sum at one time.

Installments will be paid each year between 1 April and 31 July. When the money is paid, it will be recorded in the worker's passport, and visa procedures will be dependent upon payment.

The statement noted that a Turkish citizen who is over the age of 29 and who has not performed his military service must apply at a consulate before the end of September if he is to benefit from the law.

Of the Turkish workers employed abroad who have not completed military service, Turkish citizens other than those unable to serve in the military for medical reasons, those unable to pay the foreign exchange required by law, those who have lost their status as workers for any reason whatsoever, those studying abroad, doctors, and those obligated to study abroad using foreign exchange will select a summons date themselves and will present all documents to a Turkish consulate within 6 months.

The statement noted that all eligible men of military age, regardless of the level of education they have attained, will receive 2 months of basic military training as privates.

A worker who has completed the 2-month training course will have a note affixed to his identity card stating that this aspect of his military obligation is fulfilled.

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REACTIONS GIVEN TO INTEREST DECONTROL

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 6 Jun 80 p 9

[Text] A period of intense activity in banks has begun with the decontrol of interest rates. It is reported that according to estimates, should high interest be given on deposits, interest on credit will go sky high. It has been calculated that should the 40 percent interest rate being implemented by banks be given to savers, interest on credit must reach 90 percent in order to defray the expense.

It is expected that banks in a critical situation will implement a very high interest rate and, as a result, large deposits will shift from bank to bank. It is reckoned that it will be routine [in some banks] to maintain interest on credit at between 60 and 70 percent. Because this practice will spark interbank competition, it is reported that banks are keeping a close watch on one another with respect to interest rates given.

Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Administrative Council Chairman Nuh Kusculu said, "Whether the new procedure for interest rates is good or bad will be determined after it has been in effect for one or two months." Kusculu continued, "Interest applied to long-term savings deposits is in fact free. Only people's demand deposits are ordinarily penalized with low interest. Now a solution to this has been offered. Assigning interest to short-term deposits through bargaining will not have a major impact on the economy. However, the system of instant realization [conversion to cash]--which is practiced in the banking community--will be effected by the new development. Thus, the practice of converting deposits directly into bonds could find its way into the banking system."

Former Minister of State Enterprises Kenan Bulutluoglu provided a written statement yesterday in which he severely criticized the decontrol of bank interest rates. He said, "Interest rates have been decontrolled. Because lateral measures were not adopted, this decision will serve to further speed up the increase in unemployment. This decision will strengthen monopolies, cartels, and holding companies while the weak will fold."

Aegean Region Chamber of Industry Assembly Chairman Sinasi Ertan stated, "The recent decisions may help make banking and bank relations more balanced. But the upshot of bank and banking competition could serve to further raise the interest on money and negatively effect economic activity. If mid-term credit interest which at present still averages between 40 and 50 percent exceeds this figure production and investment in particular could be hindered."

Izmir Commercial Exchange Administrative Council Chairman Hasan Guven harshly criticized the decontrol of bank interest rates. He said, "This decision will pave the way for major price hikes in a short time."

Eskishir Chamber of Industry Second Chairman Yilmaz Cakir in summary had these views on the new interest procedure, "The decontrol of bank interest engenders new risks of Anatolian industry. The decisions adopted and implemented in the last 6 months as well as the devaluations have dug the grave of Anatolian industry. Because the new interest rates will levy a greater burden on the price of durable consumer goods purchased on installment, the demand for these types of goods could fall below present levels. This decision may serve to decrease demand, but it should be understood that this will have unforeseen and negative consequences on every sector of the economy."

DISK-affiliated Bank-Sen [Bank Workers Union] General Chairman Metin Denizmen remarked in a written statement yesterday, "The government made the decision to decontrol interest rates in accordance with IMF demands." He noted, "This procedure will increase the cost of money used for credit and it will be reflected in prices by making costs rise."

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IMF CREDIT ALLOCATED FOR BRIDGE FINANCING

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 5 Jun 80 p 5

[Text] Upon the government's reaching an agreement with the IMF on a new 3-year stand-by agreement, the first credit tranche was released. It was been decided by the government that this credit will be used for bridge financing. Turkey has applied with this aim to the International Payments Bank, whose headquarters is in Basel, Switzerland, and the Swiss Banks Union.

As is known, Turkey secured bridge financing in the second tranche of the present stand-by agreement--whose implementation period ends on 20 June--by applying to the International Payments Bank and Citibank.

According to the new stand-by agreement agreed upon with the IMF, a \$600 million portion of the \$1.6 billion in credit--to be used over a 3-year period--will be given Turkey in 1980. A \$150 million sum will be released to Swiss banks to cover this portion of the stand-by, which constitutes the first tranche, that will be made available when beaureaucratic procedures are completed.

Since bridge financing to cover the IMF's first tranche is being provided through Switzerland, it is required that a special "certificate of confirmation" be sent by the IMF to the institution providing the bridge financing. It has been stated by observers that the dispatch of this document has been guaranteed and that all the snags over the stand-by have been taken care of.

Prime Ministerial Advisor and Deputy Under Secretary of the State Planning Organization Turgut Ozal will go to Switzerland today to conclude the bridge financing. Ozal will then go to West Germany and meet with German Finance Minister Matthoefer. The matter of speeding up OECD credit after Turkey meets IMF conditions will be taken up during the Ozal-Matthoefer talks.

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